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Forum

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The Dead Hand

Norman McL. Rogers

THE CANADIAN FORUM

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HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON, for a moment leaving his renowned adventures in the world of geography, geology, history and romance, brings to us a vividly dramatic sketch of a native lost in the logic of the civilized imperialist.

NORMAN McL. ROGERS summarizes in 'The Dead Hand' the desirability of 'laying unholy hands' on the Constitution; he speaks from practical experience gained as Secretary to the Prime Minister from 1926 to 1929 and from his work in connection with the Nova Scotia Economic Inquiry, and from his researches as Associate Professor of Political Science at Queen's University. This article will be followed by subsequent ones on the crisis of Federal finance and the method of constitutional amendment.

GEORGE FARQUHAR, the editor of the Halifax Chronicle, tells how Nova Scotia was 'sold out' by its own Premier and describes how the Macdonald Government is dealing with that political force which is the 'Maritime Grievance'.

WARREN K. COOK, the president of the Cook Clothing Company, who has worked consistently for better conditions in that trade and who was instrumental in the agitation for the institution of the Stevens Committee, discusses what the small manufacturer may hope for as a result of the investigation.

JOSEPH MCCULLEY is the headmaster of Pickering College, where the rod is spared and, to the surprise of many, the child not spoiled.

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THE spoils of victory pale into insignificance when compared with the spoils of impending defeat. The public works programme recently tabled in the House by the Conservative Government should take its place among the most prominent examples of perverted political values. Granting that it represents the construction of various public works which have been postponed by reason of the depression, it is nevertheless obscure why, at the time when it has been decided to unloose the necessary funds, they might not have been expended upon more worth-while objectives. In Toronto alone Dr. H. A. Bruce's recent survey has shown that, at the present time, there is an actual shortage of 14,000 dwelling houses, a circumstance which is the more acutely accentuated by the incredible conditions obtaining in those inhabited. Overcrowding is general in houses of which four out of five are structurally deficient, not to mention their disgraceful sanitary and heating conditions. It will indeed be scant comfort to the unfortunate inhabitants of these to know that there is to be an addition to the customs house, a new post office, another dock, and that the walls of the ship canal are to be completed. And it cannot be that the situation materially differs in other cities. It may be conceded that the measure is a generous gift to the faithful constituencies; yet, if it is to be judged as a stimulus to recovery, its generosity falls far short of any effective standard. In the United States works under the Civil Works Administration from last November until the activities of that body were checked, which were largely responsible for the degree of recovery taking place during the early part of the year averaged over \$300,000,000 per month. On the basis of Canadian public works carried on during the year of August, 1931-2, the present programme should provide a years work for approximately 15,000 men, a small proportion of the total unemployed. But, in view of the complete homogeneity of the contemplated construction, it would indeed be ironical if there proved to be a shortage of the necessary type of labour.

* * *

THE inevitable difficulty with public works schemes under the profit system is that the public authorities are always loath to embark upon projects which might encroach upon the pre-

serves of private profit-making enterprises. Hence the popularity of the theory of expending public funds upon digging and filling in ditches as a means of providing employment rather than a dole, to which the present Government scheme is somewhat akin. But, even under these circumstances, there are numerous fields which private enterprise has completely abandoned, the foremost of which is low cost housing. The Interim Report of the National Housing Committee of Great Britain points out that 'Past experience is proof that this need cannot be met by private enterprise, which in any case will be actively occupied for many years to come in supplying houses for those with larger incomes and in building enterprise other than housing.' The limitations of the housing project now being put into force in the United States, as described elsewhere in the 'Washington Letter' are another case in point. Private builders can never supply the present needs for low rental houses which are above certain minimum standards. Nor, it may be added, is the Government likely to do so with any degree of success unless a new approach to public works is adopted; as Dr. H. M. Cassidy shows in his survey *Unemployment and Relief in Ontario, 1929-31*, the cost of political contracts has often exceeded that of commercial ones by as much as 50 per cent. Not only will a more stringent pricing control be essential, but also the development of machinery for the selection and planning of suitable projects. Now that Mr. Bennett has abandoned the more rigid conceptions of 'sound money' and is willing to issue notes on the basis of the gold reserves, in accordance with the precepts of the World Economic Conference, perhaps he will pay sufficient attention to the demands of public opinion to convert his present ill-starred scheme into a workable reality.

* * *

THE preparation of the public works programme has been a material factor in bringing the Federal Government to the conclusion that it should withdraw part of its contributions to direct relief, and it will apparently enter the Dominion-Provincial Conference with the intention of reducing its share from one-third to one-quarter. The philosophy behind this is that relief is essentially an emergency problem, and with the supposed passing of the emergency the responsibility for it should pass back

to the local centres where it originally rested. It is just this doctrine of municipal responsibility which has made the administration of unemployment relief a hopeless chaos. It is true that the routine administration of funds can best be handled on a local basis; at the same time the responsibility must revert to the national sphere, in so far as the Federal Government is responsible for the economic policies which occasion the need for it, and, furthermore, because that Government, with its greater financial resources inevitably has to shoulder the brunt of the burden in times of emergency. A curtailment of the Federal contribution at this stage can only limit the amounts paid out—and the rates have never been unduly handsome—but the question of the proportion of contributions is less important than that of the control of the funds. If the Federal Government is the resort of all strained treasuries, then it should at least exact certain conditions as to how its funds are to be expended. Beyond this it is obvious that the provinces should yield the constitutional powers, the possession of which would permit the Federal Government to exert the controls necessary for some degree of stabilization of industry; but while the shadow of M. Taschereau still stalks across the political stage, such a move seems highly improbable. By the same token, the provinces should take the opportunity of ensuring that the municipalities observe common standards as to rates, eligibility rules and accounting systems, as well as seeing that provision is made for the hitherto unfortunate transients whom municipalities have denied the rights of resident citizens.

WITH the thought that relatively painless monetary control will absolve the need of its industrial counterpart, many have expected that the institution of a central bank will usher in a period of planning without tears. As the Bank of Canada is to be privately owned, it is not even certain that it will amount to more than the old Finance Act arrayed in new and more formal attire. The extent to which it may be successful will depend especially upon the governor appointed, who will have to enjoy independence from the bankers on the one hand and the demands of sections or economic groups on the other. One mooted possibility has been removed from the sphere of speculation by Sir Edward Peacock's recent London speech in advocacy of a national government in this country. Apart from the fact that the said national government would scarcely command a constituency west of the Great Lakes, the statement by implication links Sir Edward to the particular group which it is least desirable to have in control of the institution in question. It is generally maintained—and rightly maintained—that there are no Canadian bankers of prominence capable of filling the position of governor adequately; routine practice and routine promotion have taken their inevitable toll. That is not to say that it is undesirable that a Canadian should be made the first governor, nor that there are no Canadians capable of handling the assignment. It obviously calls for an intimate knowledge of the

country which a Canadian is most likely to possess. As regards other qualifications, it has been suggested that recourse should be had to the civil service. It is to be hoped that this may mean that the appointment of Dr. W. C. Clark, the present Deputy Minister of Finance, is contemplated. Possessing a rare combination of experience in the practice and theory of finance and the essential independence, he comprises the chief hope for the most effective management possible within the limitations of the present constitution of the Bank of Canada.

* * *

THE prolonging of the parliamentary session fell far short of its objective of bringing some light to bear upon the conditions prevailing in the Kingston penitentiary. The mere absence from the debate of any objective and non-contradictory evidence is, however, an overwhelming argument in favour of the appointment of the impartial investigation urged by Mr. Woodsworth and Miss McPhail, in the interests of all the parties concerned. There is of course the obvious danger that, in view of the Government's present attitude towards the treatment of criminals, such a body might simply become an official and partisan whitewash which would do nothing more than perpetuate present conditions for another decade. Nevertheless, until such an investigation is carried out, actual conditions in penitentiaries will remain obscured by the present fog of prejudice. For the time being, Mr. Guthrie's defence of these institutions contains statements which, in consideration of his position must comprise the very lowest common factor in the various allegations of abuses. To mention two, the presence of slop-pails (a ministerial euphemism) in the 'hole' and the practice of 'paddling' at the discretion of a military-minded warden's court are certainly not essential elements in any civilized prison system. Beyond and far more important than this is the general attitude of the Government towards the whole problem. One need not be a staunch devotee of Samuel Butler's to maintain that the treatment of criminals is a social and not a military problem; yet the Government do not seem to entertain any intentions of changing the supervisors of these institutions. The whole point of view is perhaps best expressed in Mr. Guthrie's statement concerning the exercise period at Kingston: 'Instead of the regular exercise prescribed, baseball and the like has developed to a fairly alarming extent.' The problem in its essentials involves a change of attitude even more than a change of conditions. True, there have been some improvements effected, notably in the release of five of the seven political prisoners. But in this respect we would like to remind Mr. Guthrie and his colleagues of the statement of one of these, Sam Carr, on his return to freedom: 'I was a Communist when the judge sent me into Kingston for five years; I am all the more a Communist when you bring me out after two and a half years.' There has been talk of Conservative-C.C.F. co-operation; but what will Mr. Bennett think when he is presented with the suggestion of Conservative-Communist co-operation?

THE widespread epidemic of strikes in the United States should be effective in putting in its proper place the theory of Canadian recovery by remote control through the efforts of President Roosevelt and the N.R.A. In San Francisco, the most seriously affected area, the general strike has finally been called off, leaving the longshoremen to carry on by themselves, but it cannot be said that this constitutes any satisfactory settlement of the labour problem in that district. Labour relations under the 'new deal' have not been of the happiest, and it was inevitable that they should be most strained in California, where employers still hold to pioneer conceptions of the place of organized labour and labour clings to pioneer ideas as to the methods to be used against employers. The special labour board appointed by the President, in the light of these attitudes, has proved so far little more than a cork on the waves. The workers have apparently antagonized many elements in the community through their strategy of a general strike, a futile technique unless it is definitely intended to seize political power. The employers in the meantime will probably capitalize upon this; it will be a help to them to regain the *status quo* in labour relations, and the right of collective bargaining sought for under the N.R.A. has, in this deadlock, receded rather than advanced, with obvious implications.

* * *

HERR HITLER'S ruthless 'blood purge' has for the time being made his position more secure and has silenced temporarily the critics of the bankrupt economic policy of National Socialism. Whatever moral excuses there may have been for the execution of the plotting Storm Troopers, they at least perceived that unemployment could not be cured by the mere process of wholesale military recruitment and the banishing of Jews, and they saw that Germans had been promised bread and given stones. Point 13 of the Nazi programme, declared to be unalterable for all time, demands the nationalization of all businesses already formed into trusts. But Herr Thyssen's contributions to party funds have rendered this a dead letter. And point 17, providing for land reform, accompanied by confiscation where necessary, has left the large estates of East Prussia and Pomerania intact. In the meantime, prices have risen and wages fallen, the social services have been curtailed, employment has only increased in the subsidized industries, the budget is in a state of chaos, the first five months of this year showed an unfavourable balance of 180,000,000 reichsmarks and there is only a 2 per cent. gold covering for the currency. Perhaps even more telling upon the fate of the Hitler régime has been the coolness of London and Washington to requests for loans—one of the most effective replies to the Nazi anti-Semitic and foreign policies.

* * *

IF it has done nothing else, the 'blood purge' has clarified the German situation by reducing it to terms of force, and political power can be reckoned in men and arms. It is not likely that Herr Hitler can count any longer upon the substantial

support of the Storm Troops, whose leaders planned the revolt against him. Numbering over 2,000,000, it is estimated that this body is composed of equal proportions of Nazis, Communists and unemployed. Threatened with a reduction after their holiday, they will provide an active left-wing opposition to the Chancellor, which, owing to the widespread nature of the organization, will be more effective from the point of view of propaganda than power. Allied to these malcontents will be the Communists and Socialists, whose strength will gain with the intensification of the economic situation, not to mention the Catholics aroused by the shooting of Herr Clausener. In the face of this widespread opposition, it is not surprising that Herr Hitler is pinning his faith upon the powerful and well-trained Reichswehr in addition to the Schutz Staffel, his personal bodyguard, and the secret police. This reliance upon the conservative regular army, with its preference for the junker classes, cannot fail to push Hitler over to the right, as is indicated by his forbearance towards Herr von Papen. There may be a larger degree of tolerance in Germany and more generosity towards other nations in the interests of trade, but the accentuation of a military and industrial dictatorship in that country will bring no ease to the European situation. The upshot is merely a change in emphasis from a National Socialism which was nationalist but not socialist to an international capitalism which will be more capitalistic than international. The length of time the new order can hold down the growing opposition is another matter. Eventually, Hitler and all that he stands for will fall by the methods by which he has hitherto survived, and he will die indulging in the same theatrical grotesqueries which have made a mockery of reconstruction in his country.

* * *

LAST summer saw several very welcome advances in the process of political education.

This year, however, the two major political parties, in view of the possibilities of a Federal election, have apparently decided to abandon the summer schools which were inaugurated. The fashion of tempering action with thought seems to have given way before the more grimly realistic policy of hastening it with organization. As a consequence, the task has been left to the non-partisan organizations. The study groups organized by the League of Nations Society have performed a praiseworthy function, and this summer the Y.M.C.A. are holding their regular camp at Lake Couchiching as well as a similar one in the Maritimes. The visit of the Mr. Maxwell Stewart and Mr. Reinhold Niebuhr, in addition to the calibre of the Canadian speakers, commend the former, at least, most highly. Such institutions have the further advantage that they make the search for enlightenment an admirable excuse for the enjoyment of the summer amid appropriate surroundings. We say this with feeling, reality in the form of unread proofs and unfinished editorials having pursued us remorselessly through the heat and nailed us grimly to more serious tasks in the face of appealing alternatives.

London Letter

SIR OSWALD MOSLEY'S Fascists have been in the political limelight this month for the first and, it is devoutly to be hoped, for the last time. Englishmen reading the newspapers on the morning of June 8th. discovered to their amazement and disgust, that scenes savouring of Nazi gang warfare had been taking place in London the night before. Sir Oswald Mosley had organized a huge rally at Olympia—an arena generally used for circuses and military tournaments. He had refused the assistance of the police in keeping order within the building, and provided a corps of black-shirted 'ushers' to whom the task of coping with interrupters was freely entrusted. As soon as Mosley attempted to speak, ubiquitous interruption began. Instantly the 'ushers', well-trained apparently in jiu-jitsu, pounced on the interrupters, men and women alike, and removed them to the vestibules, where they were struck, kicked and trampled on before being flung, more or less seriously injured, into the street. Outside a huge and hostile crowd was engaged in demonstrating against Mosley and spasmodically fighting with the police.

There was no doubt whatever about the facts. A letter signed by three Conservative M.P.s appeared in *The Times* next morning testifying to the brutality of the Fascists. Several impartial, respected and independent observers corroborated their evidence; including the Very Reverend 'Dick' Sheppard, Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd (Private Secretary to Mr. Baldwin) and Mr. Gerald Barry, the distinguished Liberal journalist. Mosley could not very well argue that it was merely the Jews and Communists spreading 'atrocious propaganda', or that the victims of his 'ushers' had been injured 'while trying to escape'. His attempt to deny the facts was consequently treated with general derision; and the whole incident gave rise to a remarkable demonstration of unity throughout all parties and classes, from the die-hard Conservatives to the I.L.P. An absolute determination to preserve personal and civil liberty, free speech and the decencies of democratic politics has been shown to be common to all Englishmen who are not cranks and romanticists taking their political ideas from foreign countries.

* * *

THIS unanimity was given decisive expression in a debate in the House of Commons. Spokesmen of all parties called on the Home Secretary to ensure that gangster methods should be instantly suppressed either by a strengthening of the law or an enforcement of it. The Home Secretary replied that a repetition of the Olympia scenes 'could not be tolerated'. His statement has already taken effect. Sir Oswald Mosley held another meeting at Sheffield at the end of the month; and police were present *inside the hall*. Interrupters were peacefully escorted to the street.

This means, we may hope, that the introduction of physical brutality into English politics has been nipped at the outset. Without such methods of advertisement, Mosley's movement is most unlikely to make further progress. The Olympia meeting has

spread a general conviction that his followers consist largely of professional thugs, gaol-birds, ex-Black-and-Tans and a sprinkling of congenital sadists. Apart from this crew, he has won some support among the unemployed by more or less wholesale bribery, and a certain following among the farmers by promises of high protection and the abolition of tithes. It is widely agreed, however, that nothing short of mass starvation could bring Fascism into power in this country. If anything further were necessary to discredit Mosleyism, the visible disintegration of Hitler's movement in Germany would be enough.

* * *

AND England is a very long way from mass starvation. There are still 2,000,000 unemployed, but the 'cuts' in their insurance pay were restored on July 1st, and the total is falling month by month. Some slight slackening of 'recovery' seems to have set in since April (when the income-tax was reduced!); and the continuance of the upward movement admittedly depends on the progress of the building boom and the expansion of the export trade. The latter is not likely to recover substantially for some time to come; but there is no reason why the building boom, the centre and source of our recovery, should not continue and even accelerate for two years or more.

* * *

A CRUCIAL factor in the 'recovery' balance is the attempt of Mr. Elliot to limit still further our imports of meat from Argentina and the Dominions. It is the cheapness of food imports throughout the depression which has contributed more than anything else to maintain the standard of living and hence the political sanity of the English people. If Mr. Eliot succeeds in his attempt to restrict Dominion food imports, the political consequences here might be far-reaching. It is particularly unfortunate in this respect that Canada has alienated much sympathy in this country by the decision of the Supreme Court on the powers of the Tariff Board and the report of the Board itself on the tariff preference for British woollen goods. However, the sweeping successes of the Liberals in the recent elections have been duly noted here.

* * *

TAKING advantage of the desperate plight of the Disarmament Conference the militarist faction in the cabinet, led by Lord Londonderry, Sir Bolton Eyres-Monsell and Lord Hailsham, appears to have won the day. Rearmament in the air is to begin. This decision does not mean that the peace movement in this country has become any less strong. Rather that it is divided. Are we still to put our faith in a boycotted Disarmament Conference or a cruelly mutilated system of collective security? Or renounce war unconditionally and altogether? The official Labour Party has decided against the extreme pacifist alternative; and this may, perhaps, be a step forward. But even the most genuine seekers after peace are divided and uncertain today. Meanwhile the militarists and armament-makers are getting their turn. And the younger generation, at least, is fearful of the consequences. DOUGLAS JAY

Washington Letter

WERE the power of imagination of some of the Government's important officials here in Washington not quite so keen, or were these officials perhaps a little less articulate in their optimism, it might be better for the political success of the Roosevelt Administration.

Every bureau, 'emergency agency' or division that has been set up to do battle with one or another of the many phases of depression (and there are now over 40 of these aside from regular government departments) has been launched with such a fine flow of pretty phrases and surrounded by such grandiose predictions that the contrast of reality a few months later is difficult to explain.

However, politics being what they are, the gentlemen involved can and do plead the expediency of 'inspiring confidence in our institutions' and are thereby absolved, at least temporarily, in the public mind.

* * *

THE latest of these special agencies, and it is being organized as this letter is written, is designed to patch the nation's roofs, put in a new bathtub or even remodel the front of the house. It is called the Housing Administration. It contemplates the expenditure of \$1,000,000,000 for 'renovating' houses throughout the country.

Its provisions would seem to be so flexible that it might be possible even to put in a modern 'cocktail bar' in that corner of the dining room where the old china closet now stands.

The administrator of the housing project is James A. Moffett, who formerly earned \$100,000 a year in the management of one of the great Standard Oil companies. He gets \$10,000 a year on this job. He said when he arrived to take up his new duties: 'So far as I am concerned, a minor job like painting a fence comes under the head of repair and renovation.' Theoretically, at least, a year from now there should not be a leaky roof, or unpainted exterior in the country. However, it is feared that the will will have to be taken for the deed if we are not to be disappointed.

Moffett opened his office by announcing that he would have 5,000,000 persons back in various building trades and allied industries by the Fall through the operation of his organization. He has but about three months before the Fall and he admits that it will be necessary first to 'sell' the 'renovizing' campaign to the country. It would appear that Moffett either has a hitherto undisclosed programme in mind or is about to pull a rabbit out of his hat.

The idea of the housing bill is to inspire, or stimulate, if you like, the extension of credit by private financial institutions (banks, mortgage financing companies, building and loan associations, etc.) to individuals to make the improvements in their property. The Government will underwrite 20 per cent. of the credit advanced, that is, guarantee \$200,000,000 of the proposed extension of \$1,000,000,000.

It is hoped to put some life into the heavy industries through the activities involved in painting, paper hanging, roofing and plumbing. Of course,

some building materials have already advanced 250 per cent. in price to consumers in a few months, and that was before any housing bill had been conceived. Nevertheless, it is one purpose of the bill to increase prices to prevent workers in the various industries involved from starving to death.

An excellent example of the practices of the cement manufacturers was recently a subject of some bitter official comment. The Government wanted to buy a very large quantity of this product for dam construction. All bids submitted were identical regardless, even, of the distance of the several manufacturers from the construction project where they had to deliver their product. Consequently bids were withdrawn.

Precisely how a great renovizing and rebuilding campaign can be prevented from boosting prices substantially so far as the consumer is concerned, is puzzling several Government experts.

Another aspect of housing bill criticism centres upon the charge that the bill is 'purely and simply an attempt to salvage the real estate business on its own obsolete and discredited terms'. This charge is made by the Labour Housing Conference, the Housing Study Guild of Philadelphia and the Philadelphia chapter of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians.

The housing bill abolishes the housing division of the Public Works Administration, which had to do with new construction and slum clearance, and simply means, say the above three organizations, that the Roosevelt Administration has abandoned 'any sort of positive policy toward improving housing conditions or providing employment by public construction and denies, in effect, that anything constructive was ever really intended'.

Whether Moffett is right or whether the engineers are accurate in their estimate of the project, awaits the actual test, of course, but it does seem that Moffett's statement that he will have 5,000,000 men back at work by Fall is just a bit extravagant. It is even questionable if many more than 5,000,000 men have gone back to work in all lines of activity in the land since March, 1933.

* * *

IT might be added, in connection with the housing bill, that the measure contains a provision whereby Congressmen, or companies with which they are associated, are expressly permitted to borrow from various recovery agencies of the Government. This clause was written in at the last moment and rushed through. A bill previously introduced and passed by the Senate, would have permitted Congressmen, whose base pay is \$10,000 per year, to borrow from the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. This bill was killed by loud and vigorous Republican protest. However, 'the boys' got their oar into the housing bill and so repealed the sound policy of forbidding Congressmen to do business directly or indirectly with the Government.

* * *

PERHAPS you in Canada may not know that in our late Golden Age of Prosperity there were 16,500,000 families in the United States with incomes under \$2,000 per year and, in many

instances, very much under \$2,000.

So it is that the more socially minded of our citizens have been reading with great interest the results of a study just completed by the Brookings Institution here in Washington.

This study shows that had we utilized to the full existing available resources in terms of practical, not theoretical, productivity, the equivalent of \$15,000,000,000 would have been added to the national income and this would have raised every one of those 16,500,000 families to at least the \$2,000 income level.

* * *

SOME of our Government departments have become so big that the employees in them do not know the head of the department even by sight. Secretary of the Interior Harold I. Ickes, an amiable gentleman who is also Public Works Administrator, Petroleum Administrator and a member of several other important government recovery agencies, recently walked into the office of one of his division chiefs. He asked the young woman at the desk if Mr. Blank was in. 'No,' said the girl. 'Well,' said Secretary Ickes, 'tell him the Secretary was in, will you please?' 'Whose secretary?' said the young woman. Ickes looked at her tolerantly a moment and then replied: 'I sometimes wonder, myself.'

ROBERT W. HORTON.

The Gang's All Here

IN 1929 the Liberal Government was turned out in Saskatchewan chiefly on two grounds (1) that they had not provided an adequate system of gravelled highways and (2) that its members were a gang of machine politicians who had got too slick at the game. In 1934, this very same gang, to a man, was re-elected, along with scores of supporters, old and new. Even the Liberals stood aghast at the completeness of their victory. They had counted on a majority. They had not bargained for the utter destruction of their hated Tory enemies.

To many observers the most distressing result of the elections is the fact that the 'Old Gang' is back in power. Not that it was a bad gang. It was composed of able administrators who did their best to provide cheap government. They exacted their price. There was a machine and there was a good deal of patronage, one way and another, to keep it greased. But the individual members of the Government did not make money out of the system. They worked in the main for the glory of the Grit party. It was politics in the old manner by members of the old school.

During the past four years of depression, the members of the Anderson Government worked tooth and claw to hang on. They built the highways asked for. They lavished expenditures on the distressed areas. They did a number of sound things. But their tie-up with the Government of Mr. Bennett was too much for them. Out they went.

But the most bitter disappointment of all was reserved for the C.C.F. Armed with a definite pro-

gramme, equipped with good speakers, and led by a man who was above the average, the Farmer-Labour party was confident of becoming at least a substantial element in the Legislature at Regina. It was encouraged in this hope by the public enthusiasm which greeted the party rallies. Mr. M. J. Coldwell, the leader, was hailed in the north country particularly by vast gatherings. Everywhere the response was substantial. But the electoral results were meagre. A paltry five seats rewarded this determined drive upon the strongholds of the two old parties. Mr. Coldwell himself was defeated, and the legislative leadership has devolved upon Mr. George H. Williams, whose most distinguished achievement to date has been his participation in the forlorn charge of a troop of Lord Strathcona's Horse on Moreuil Wood in the spring of 1918.

Had the C.C.F. expectations not run so high, its Saskatchewan affiliate might indeed have been pleased at the results. For a very substantial number of voters marked Farmer-Labour ballots. Although official returns await the sombre lethargy of the civil service, a rough compilation of votes cast is as follows:

Liberals	178,695
Conservatives	103,399
Farmer-Labour	92,191

To have succeeded in corraling about a quarter of the total votes cast is no mean achievement, and under an electoral system with any pretence to fairness the Farmer-Labour party would have had substantial representation in the Legislature. The vote, further, has this to recommend it: that it probably represents a belief much more positive than the vast majority rolled up by the Liberal candidates. That vote was swelled by the enormous number of men and women whose chief aim in life on June 19th. was to get rid of the Government. The Farmer-Labour party, disappointed though they may be, can at least point with some certainty to a body of voters who want far-reaching social change.

The degree of change they want, of course, far outstrips the power of any provincial Legislature to provide it, and to that extent the vote degenerates into a vote of protest. On the positive side, on the other hand, the Liberal majority represents the very real and urgent desire of the mass of the voters to get an opportunity at some other time to help to effect a reversal of Conservative high tariff and protectionist policies, which would then permit the farmer to exercise his skill and ability in his own behalf under a system of private ownership.

Into these speculations, however, it is not worth while entering at this moment when a Federal election appears to be still in the middle distance. But one thing is certain from the Saskatchewan results: the voters of that province are more anxious to throw the Bennett Government out than they are to do anything else. Once that is achieved many of them will be prepared to tackle the problem of Canada's future along the lines suggested by the C.C.F. But the indications are that the Third Party is hardly yet a serious threat to the old political order.

The Dead Hand

By NORMAN McL. ROGERS

A SIGNIFICANT result of the depression period in Canada is the growing strength of the movement for constitutional revision. Only a few years ago the British North America Act was the closed preserve of lawyers and university teachers. Today it is being discussed in the market-place. Of the ultimate meaning of this translation there can be no doubt. The Federal Constitution has come to be recognized as bearing a definite and continuing relation to the serious business of making a living under social conditions which make life tolerably pleasant for the mass of those who labour. The plea of constitutional impediments has been used so often as an excuse for failure to enact progressive legislation that we have begun to question the reality of self-government when the terms of the British North America Act are invoked to obstruct new social legislation or to prevent the removal of abuses in the existing economic order. It is no longer possible to refer to the Constitution as something ultimate and immutable. The mysticism which once surrounded government even under a limited monarchy disappeared with the close of the Victorian era. The severe buffeting of our economic and social structure during the past four years has induced a critical examination of our inheritance of laws and institutions. It is not enough now to say that the British North America Act declares thus and so, and that the British North America Act was passed by the highest legislative authority in the Empire. The Canadian electorate is sufficiently intelligent and sufficiently aware of its powers to ask why the Federal Constitution says thus and so, and to inquire further why it should say the same thing necessarily in 1867 and in 1934.

We have travelled a great distance towards constitutional reform in the seven years which have passed since the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation. On Dominion Day, 1927, the British North America Act reached its zenith of prestige and public favour. The commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of federation coincided with a period of unbounded optimism. The more sobering memories of the war had receded into history. There remained the recollection of an emergency met by a young country with courage and fortitude, and the consciousness of an awakening nationhood which had been accorded formal recognition at the Conference of Versailles and at the later Imperial Conference of 1926. The future was bright with promise. The post-war depression had given place to a period of extraordinary expansion of industry and commerce. In this hectic and overstimulated revival of prosperity it is doubtful if any country progressed as rapidly as Canada. No dark portents of the impending hurricane had yet appeared on the horizon. The foundations of material prosperity seemed secure and unshakable. Under such favouring auspices it is not surprising that ex-

travagant praise was bestowed upon the Constitution under which the Dominion had risen to such honourable distinction. The merits of the British North America Act were extolled in the Dominion Parliament, in provincial legislatures, and on many a village green. The Fathers of Confederation were credited with virtues which would have made them unrecognizable by their contemporaries. It was not strange, perhaps, that these eulogies of the Constitution and its architects should impress the lesson that an instrument of government which had made possible the Canada of 1927 should be preserved inviolate for future generations. This was the undercurrent of thought in many of the speeches which marked the Diamond Jubilee of the Dominion. It is traceable also in the discussions of the Dominion-Provincial Conference which was held in the same year and whose agenda included the subject of constitutional amendment. The British North America Act was held up as a model of political wisdom. Grave warnings were uttered against the danger of laying unholy hands upon such a work of plenary inspiration. The failure of the Dominion-Provincial Conference to deal effectively with the subject of constitutional amendment provoked little adverse comment in the press or Parliament.

Contrasts in political attitudes provide a fertile field of speculation for the political philosopher. Our complacent confidence in the British North America Act just seven years ago presents a striking antithesis to the criticism directed against its provisions during the past two years. It is easy to oversimplify the reasons for this change in attitude. It would be absurd to say that the need for revision exists today and did not exist in 1927. It is true, nevertheless, that the effect of the economic crisis on political thought has been profound and enduring and that our present dissatisfaction with certain features of the Canadian Constitution is the result of a significant change in our conception of the functions and responsibilities of government. A constitution is an instrument through which the community seeks to realize certain declared purposes. The institutions it creates and the powers given to those institutions are assimilated to the character of the purposes it is designed to serve. The British North America Act, 1867, was an expression of the political philosophy of *laissez-faire*. According to the current opinion of that day the less government interfered with private business the better it was for the welfare of the community. The scope of government was narrowed by this philosophy. The distribution of powers and the division of taxing powers between Federal and provincial agencies show the influence of the prevailing doctrine. The control of social services and the regulation of wages and hours of labour were not attributed to the Federal authority for the simple reason that such subjects were thought to be beyond the domain of

government and to fall within the range of private or collective enterprise and freedom of contract. The Fathers of Confederation are not to be blamed for their failure to assign these subjects specifically to the national authority. These men were neither prophets nor soothsayers but practical statesmen whose political experience had been gained in the narrow field of colonial government. Their major fault lay in their evident assumption that the contracted boundaries of government which had been defined within the philosophy of *laissez-faire* were fixed and unalterable. As a consequence of this fallacy they failed to provide within the Constitution the means of its own amendment in future years.

The growing demand for constitutional revision in Canada has proceeded *pari passu* with the awakening of a new social philosophy. That new social philosophy is in large part the product of industrialism. It originates in dissatisfaction with the social instability inherent in the modern organization of industry and commerce. Its objective is a larger measure of security for wage-earners to be obtained by the intervention of the State in the economic life of the community. In the pre-war period this new social philosophy had made little progress in Canada. The conditions favourable to its growth did not exist in this country. In our outlook and organization we were still an agrarian community. The industrial sector was relatively unimportant in our economic life until the turn of the century. Even in the first decade of the new century the true frontiers of expansion were on the western prairies. We were still in essentials an agrarian country although the industrial sector was expanding rapidly under the stimulus of western settlement and improved transportation. Under such conditions the defects of the Federal Constitution were not readily apparent. A rigid constitutional system will not necessarily produce friction while the economic life of the community is permitted to function for the most part in a régime of private enterprise and freedom of contract. The real difficulty arises when the economic system fails to function adequately under private enterprise and the need is recognized for a larger degree of social control. Then it becomes apparent that rigidities in the constitutional system must be relaxed in order to permit the degree of centralized control necessary to guide the economic system towards pre-determined social objectives.

Even the failure of the British North America Act to provide a flexible procedure for its own amendment would not have made us acutely conscious of our handicaps if the courts in their interpretation of the Constitution had given a broad construction of the powers assigned to the national authority. But the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was too firmly entrenched in its position as the self-appointed guardian of provincial rights to give a direction to the Constitution which might have enabled the national authority to apply industrial controls as the necessity arose. Almost every attempt on the part of the Dominion Parliament to establish a jurisdiction over industrial conditions has

founded on the judicial interpretation of 'property and civil rights' as originally assigned to the provinces. The impotence of the Dominion was revealed strikingly in the case of *Snider vs. Toronto Electric Commissioners* in which the Privy Council denied the validity of Dominion legislation providing for the compulsory investigation of labour disputes in public utilities, and again when it was discovered that the Dominion did not possess the power to implement the signatures of its representatives to the international convention for the eight-hour day. During the war period the constitutional infirmities of the Dominion Parliament were concealed temporarily by the wide powers it assumed under the War Measures Act. With the resumption of peace these extraordinary controls were removed. But our eyes were again blinded to the inherent weakness of the Federal Constitution by the fevered prosperity which marked the final debauch of the old industrial order in the four years which preceded the major economic crisis of 1930.

It has been emphasized that the movement for constitutional amendment in Canada has been given its major impetus by the recent trend towards state intervention in economic life. As that trend has become more clearly defined it has directed attention to the inability of the national government in Canada to carry out any large measure of ameliorative legislation without exceeding its constitutional jurisdiction. A question may be raised as to the persistence of this movement towards state intervention. Is it a short-term or a long-term phase of social development? Perhaps it is too soon to give a final answer but the balance of opinion appears to incline steadily towards the long-term theory. The words of Professor Edwin Gay of Harvard are worth repeating. 'Are we dealing now with what looks like a new era, a new period of history, a desire for increased social stability? Or are we faced with a comparatively short-term movement which has been greatly emphasized and stimulated by the experiences of the recent crisis? On this latter point I express my own personal view as a student of economic history, that a comparatively short period of expansion—of *laissez-faire*—relatively to a longer preceding period animated by a desire for economic organization, is now being followed by the beginning of a new period; that we are going, at first still apparently haphazardly, into a new period of economic and social organization which is likely to last for a considerable period.' It may still be urged, however, that so recent a change in social philosophy is a tenuous justification for the revision or reconstruction of a constitution which has stood almost inviolate for sixty-seven years. It is true that social philosophies and political theories are impalpable but do they not also form the foundation of our laws and institutions? And is it not true that changes in these theories are of the very essence of social progress? If we are to move steadily forward a just reverence for inherited traditions must be matched by a willingness to fashion these institutions for the attainment of new ideals. We must cleave to that which is good but reject as readily that which is

archaic and useless. Otherwise we place ourselves under the dictatorship of our ancestors who were neither more wise nor more far-seeing than ourselves. The truth is that the work we want the British North America Act to permit us to do today is far different from that which was in the minds of those who framed it. And this living generation of the Dominion is entitled to contrive an instrument of government which will assist in the realization of its own purposes. The philosophy in which the British North America Act was conceived has been gradually superseded by the doctrine of state intervention for social reform. This changing view of the functions and responsibilities of the national government must be given scope for expression through our political institutions.

In our approach to the problem of constitutional revision it will be necessary to distinguish between the present need for specific amendments and the larger question of devising a flexible procedure of amendment which shall be incorporated in the British North America Act and provide us with the effective means of securing further revision when necessary. It is possible that the consent of all the provinces might be obtained for certain specific amendments of the constitution at the present juncture. But this success will not meet the fundamental problem of finding a reasonably flexible mechanism for future amendments. When the issue is faced it must be faced as a whole. A piecemeal settlement may be worse than no solution at all if it gives sup-

port to the constitutional rigidity implied in the doctrine of unanimous provincial consent to every amendment of the British North America Act. Political expediency may counsel postponement of the larger issue. In the long view it is necessary to combine the question of immediate revision with the formulation of a permanent procedure for future revision. It would seem that the time is now opportune to grapple with this vital problem of constitutional reconstruction. The experience of the past four years has enabled us to see more clearly than before the handicaps which prevent us from applying legislative remedies to some of the grave abuses of the present economic and social order. The chaotic financial inter-relationships of the Dominion and the provinces have been brought into strong relief during the post-war period. The financial difficulties of the federal system are bound up with the distribution of powers and the division of fields of taxation. The complexity of this aspect of the problem requires that the work of revision shall be preceded by careful study. These preliminary investigations will determine the success of the final outcome. The difficulty of the task must not be underestimated. We must recognize that the foundations of the British North America Act have been weakened by a process of slow subsidence. Its superstructure has been weatherbeaten by the storm and stress of the past four years. In design and content there is need for repair and renovation. The work of constitutional reconstruction presents a challenge to Canadian statesmanship.

Why the Nova Scotia Inquiry?

By GEORGE FARQUHAR

AFTER forty-three years of Liberal rule, in 1925 a Conservative Government came into power in Nova Scotia and remained in power until August of last year, when in a most spectacular election campaign it was defeated at the polls and replaced by the present Administration under the young, able and scholarly Premier, Angus L. Macdonald.

Previous to 1925 the experienced hand of the Hon. George H. Murray was removed, he being succeeded by Premier Armstrong. Spending policies were conservative, the treasury pursuing an even course with sometimes a small surplus or a small deficit. During the last ten years, inclusive, there were three deficits, namely in 1919, 1923 and 1925.

In 1925 the Hon. E. N. Rhodes came back to the province with the prestige of having served in the Speaker's chair at Ottawa, became Premier and was succeeded by Mr. Harrington on his joining the Bennett Administration in 1930. During the eight years this Conservative Government was in power the budget was never balanced, notwithstanding that the gasoline tax was imposed for the first time, liquor control was put in force, and an additional subsidy of \$875,000 a year was received following the Dun-

can Report, as well as another hundred thousand annually from taxation on the government railways in the province. The revenue almost doubled, taxation was increased, deficits were the order of the day—the deficit last year was the startling sum of \$1,600,000.00—and during the eight years the public debt was all but doubled.

This was the situation which faced Premier Macdonald on assuming office. His first act was to dismiss the Liquor Commission of two, putting one man in its place and reducing the salary paid from \$16,000 to \$5,000. His next was to put in force Old Age Pensions which are now being paid. His next important act was to place the sale of gasoline under the Public Utilities Commission, with the object of reducing the number of outlets and reducing the cost to the consumer. On the coming into force of the act, the retail price of gasoline was reduced a cent and a half a gallon. As the Government imposed that amount additional tax on gas, the saving went into the provincial treasury. Different views prevail as to how it will eventually work out. His is the first government in Canada to initiate such a scheme, and New Brunswick has since copied it. He has this year budgeted for a deficit of \$1,200,000.00,

a great sum for this province, but \$400,000 less than the actual deficit last year of the preceding Administration. Premier Macdonald promises a review of the whole government services to institute economies and to balance the budget within a measurable time.

One matter the Macdonald Government has decided is the holding of an Inquiry into the economic position of the province. The question is asked, Why an Inquiry of this character since the Duncan Commission was appointed for this express purpose? It is to answer this question for those not conversant with the situation, this short study is written, for the Government is now busy gathering the information, and the personnel of the Commission may be declared any day. The Inquiry will be held. Why?

This will be best understood by tracing the course of events during the past few years, but be it said at the outset, that it has nothing to do with the present depression, which it is urged only accentuated continuing difficulties which were in existence long before. All Canada knows how the Tupper Administration carried the province into Confederation, refusing to submit the question to a vote of the people and how a powerful campaign was waged, first for repeal, and next for better terms. All of which now lies in the long distant past, but its reasons were economic. Since 1867 the province has seen its industries slip through its fingers, the best of its population continually drained away, itself left behind in the race of progress, and its people largely reduced to primary producers, while its per capita wealth from the highest has sunk to the lowest in the Dominion.

In the year 1923 an agitation arose which grew to great proportions, this time not from the Liberals but from within the Conservative party itself. The entire province was electrified when the late Howard Corning, a prominent Conservative, arose in the House and moved a resolution saying that if Nova Scotia was returned to its former status as a self-governing British Dominion it would be able to protect its farmers, fishermen, industrial workers, preserve its home markets, furnish employment and build up its enterprises and population through tariff measures and trade treaties; and moved that a referendum should be held to decide whether the people favored withdrawal from Confederation and the reconstitution of Nova Scotia as a self-governing British Dominion. It was defeated by the Liberal Armstrong Government, but from that time on so-called 'Maritime Rights' became the all dominant issue.

The Liberal Government refused to accept the resolution, substituting another, laying the blame on the policies pursued by the Conservative Party from Confederation down, and demanding reciprocal trade agreements with the United States, our nearest neighbour, and freer access to the markets of the world. But in essence, except for the secession clause, the two resolutions were the same, both laying the blame on the fiscal policies followed by Ottawa.

Two years later in 1925 the Liberal Government

moved a resolution declaring that Nova Scotia's natural markets lay in other countries and could never be assisted by the Canadian protective tariff, which increased both production costs and the cost of living, centralized control of banks, commerce, manufacturing and business, leaving Nova Scotia in the lurch; that it followed an economic system, which while suited to the central provinces, was unsuited to the needs of the Maritimes, which must lower living and production cost to compete in the competitive markets of the world; and provided that the Government prepare a statement of particulars to show how the interests of the province were prejudiced, and seek for appropriate redress.

The Conservative opposition, brought in a counter resolution of almost similar tenor, seeking the appointment of a 'Fact Finding Commission' to investigate the 'past, present and future effects of the fiscal policy of Canada with a view to the removal of injustices' adding that the Government had lost the confidence of the people, and that the House be dissolved, and a new government returned, empowered to make such an Inquiry.

The Liberal Government actually did appoint such a Commission, but it never functioned; the Government died by efflux of time, and an election was called. Then appeared the strange phenomenon of both parties with the one policy, the point of disagreement being which party should make the Inquiry. This was the all dominant issue of 1925 and the entire province from end to end was a unit that the Inquiry should be made.

On the eve of the election came Hon. E. N. Rhodes from Ottawa to assume the leadership of the Conservative Party. His tireless eloquence stirred the country and seldom has such eloquence been heard. He was

'depressed and saddened by the conditions as he found them. One shudders to think of what a census of the population would disclose. . . . How to stop the exodus—how to keep the young people in the province, that is the problem which confronts the Government. . . . That there is something tragically wrong with this province, no one will deny. What is wrong? And what is the remedy?

'No man and no government can prescribe a cure for conditions that never have been diagnosed. Ask any Nova Scotian what the cure should be—ask the Premier himself—and he cannot tell you. He will say frankly, I do not know.

'But if we are returned to power, we mean to find out. What we require is fact finding by a man or body of men directly responsible to the Administration, and for whose findings the Administration will be prepared to accept responsibility. When we are given power we will get at the facts; we will secure the best men. . . . We will not be concerned with what is said at Ottawa. . . . Should the interests of Nova Scotia at any time run counter to any Federal policy, on the fiscal or other questions, we will stand by and for this province. We will hew to the line—let the chips fall where they may.'

The election was held in June, 1925. Rhodes swept the country from end to end, securing 40 out of the 43 seats. The old Commission thereupon resigned to give him a free hand, their resignations were accepted, but another was never appointed. The people were deceived and the agitation still went on.

In October of the same year came the Federal election and in the Maritimes this was again the

dominant issue, both Premier King and Mr. Meighen giving it a prominent place in their addresses. Mr. King promised an inquiry, and being returned to power, appointed the Duncan Commission with the widest powers and fullest instructions in April, 1926, the order of the Privy Council fixing the scope of the Inquiry to include investigation into the 'effects of the customs . . . and other economic policies adopted by successive governments', while the Premier's letter of instructions emphasized that it 'should not interpret its instructions or its duties in any narrow or technical sense'. There was an instant feeling of satisfaction, for the Commission was given a free hand.

Great, however, was the consternation of the people when the Duncan Report was published to find that it did not investigate the very thing which was the chief cause of complaint. It was silent on the subject of the tariff. In but one case did it mention it, and that was in reference to steel and coal, saying quite correctly that these specific matters were properly for the Tariff Advisory Board. On the general investigation of the incidence of the tariff on Nova Scotia it had not a word; a subject which in the very nature of the case was not a matter for the Tariff Board at all. The Duncan Commission had failed at its most vital point.

But why? Here lies a bit of secret history, history which in a moment of passion, taken off guard, Premier Rhodes revealed to the Legislature. Premier Rhodes told the Nova Scotia Legislature that he was present at Ottawa when Sir Andrew Rae Duncan was told that he 'must on no account touch the tariff, if he expected to get anywhere'. Now how did that happen in the face of the Commission's plain and unequivocal instructions?

It will be recalled that the King government went out of power in July of 1926 and the 'Shadow Government' of Premier Meighen came in. It held power until after the election of September, 1926, when Mr. King was again returned to power. But while Sir Andrew Rae Duncan was appointed by Mr. King, when he arrived in Canada, he found Mr. Meighen in office, the entire Inquiry was made while Mr. Meighen was in power, and its Report was completed and handed in before Mr. Meighen left office. Before Mr. King returned to power, Sir Andrew had left Canada. Hence it transpired that Premier Rhodes was present at Ottawa when Mr. Meighen was in office, and when instructions were given Sir Andrew that he should not touch the tariff. The Maritimes were sold out at headquarters by the Meighen Government, and by the selfsame token Nova Scotia was sold out by its own Premier, who had pledged himself to carry out the Inquiry which was now forbidden, and to which secret instruction he was himself a party. Needless to say when these facts became known, dissatisfaction was intensified and the issue remained in the forefront.

In 1928 a snap election was called in Nova Scotia, the 'election without an issue'. The Liberals were taken off guard and unprepared, but the short and hasty election of four weeks all but turned the scale against the Government, Premier Rhodes instead

of 40 to 3, facing the new House 23 to 20. The Fact Finding Inquiry was in the forefront in this election and so continued down until the election of last August, when the Macdonald Administration was returned to power 22 to 8, the number of representatives having been reduced to 30 in the meantime.

One of its most prominent pledges, drawn up at the largest convention of the party in living memory was:

'And as its first, primary, most important and farthest reaching act, to make a thorough, competent, independent, authoritative, and exhaustive inquiry into—

The conditions which cripple Nova Scotia's economic life, forcing her people to sell in a world market at a competitive price, and compelling them to buy in a protected market at a non-competitive and artificially high price, thus impoverishing her people,

And having secured this evidence, to force the issue with the Federal authorities to secure equality of opportunity for Nova Scotia within the Canadian Confederation. . . .'

Premier Macdonald is now implementing this pledge.

This is a brief outline of the history of the intended Inquiry, which is not confined to the investigation of the working of the tariff, but includes what constitutes 'dumping', if that term can be applied internally, by which goods are sold at low prices until Maritime industries are driven to the wall, at which time the higher price is restored; as likewise a study of what industries can or cannot thrive. Its object is to study the economic situation generally, with a view to remedy where remedy is possible, seeking the economic rehabilitation of Nova Scotia and the removal of all removable disabilities. Once more, let me repeat, it does not arise out of the depression, but, as this brief story shows, seeks an explanation of the economic decline, resulting in Nova Scotia's loss during the last decade, not only of the whole of her natural increase, but also of an absolute decrease of ten thousand of her population. Further action will be decided by the findings of the Commission.

FALLEN CRUMBS

The striking Lady ———, her pearl necklace and earrings glistening beneath the light of the chandeliers, spoke of seeing people of all creeds from 47 countries "in complete harmony" at the house party at Oxford. "That is, in miniature," she said, "what God intended should reign on earth."

Toronto Daily Star.

Mrs. ———, president of the Chicago Junior League, and Miss ———, president for 1933-32, both said that better class people in Chicago are very sorry for the plight of Samuel Insull.

Toronto morning paper.

"....I want you to know that crooning is a landmark in the history of American music. It marks the transition from the raucous jazz of pre-war days to the sweet, inspiring music that came after the war. Why, Tchaikowsky wrote most of his music for crooning. He must have had crooners in mind when he created his famous numbers."

Visiting orchestra leader.

"You have just heard Mrs. ———, candidate for ——— riding. Voting will take place tomorrow from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. May the best man win!"

Toronto radio announcer.

Nell Tolls the Curfew

By D'ARCY MARSH

FOLLOWING the jury's decision in the case instituted against him by the MacMillans, Premier Brownlee relinquished leadership of the Alberta Government. Furthermore, he announced that his decision to resign was unaffected by Judge Ives' refusal to accept that jury's verdict.

What is in store for Mr. Brownlee as a public man one cannot tell. Neither is it possible, at least at the moment of writing, to forecast the eventual outcome of the unhappy situation in which the Alberta Premier finds himself as a result of the seduction charge which he faced in civil court. Through the efforts of an organization devoted to the preservation of civil rights, Judge Ives' ruling may be questioned before the Privy Council, and any comment upon its merits or demerits must proceed from that body.

Yet surely some comment is warranted upon the serious incidental harm which Mr. Brownlee has suffered as a result of the flagrant publicity the case against him received. In fact so vulnerable is the public man to innuendo that even the rumour of irregularity in his private life is liable, in this country, to frustrate and ruin him, and the damages awarded the plaintiffs in the case under consideration are infinitesimal in comparison with the damages already exacted in terms of his reputation, his personal dignity and his very career.

It should be mentioned, at the outset, that Mr. Brownlee is an underrated public man, that his excellent qualities of mind have been employed by one of the most difficult tasks that any Canadian statesman has faced during the past four or five years. He has led a radical government; he has acted as liaison officer between that government and Ottawa; he has directed its policies in such a way that they have remained consistent with the general purposes of the United Farmers of Alberta movement and yet held in check the rash Left Wing elements of which the non-political U.F.A. organization is partially composed. He has faced the violent agitations of angry farmer constituents and the opposition of vested interests. In a difficult situation he has comported himself with considerable sagacity. His selection as member of the Royal Commission on Banking and Currency was a tribute to his pre-eminent position in Western Canada as a radical leader whose opinions were valuable even to non-radical financiers. And the task he has performed, the general function he has filled, have not been such as to bring spectacular recognition.

Now, because the circumstances—or the alleged circumstances—of his private life have been blazoned forth, the value of his service is wiped out, outweighed a hundredfold in the public mind by a tale of private associations. The newspapers have been filled with the sort of details which the porno-

graphic mind loves to turn to its own base purposes; he has been exposed to the ridicule of beer parlour wits and the grim disapproval of the champions of virtue. It is the story of Parnell, but repeated in a new country and among a generation which one imagines should be further removed from the sanctimonious dogmas of Mr. Gladstone and his contemporaries.

The real virulence of the attack upon Mr. Brownlee—an attack rendered more devastating by the morbid curiosity of the sort of people who stare at the remnants of an accident long after the corpse has been removed—lies in this ruthless presentation, through the press, of petty and humiliating details. It is perhaps a sacrilegious thought, but one wonders how many public men could maintain their dignity and command the deference of people if the story of their matrimonial lives were revealed in lurid completeness.

It is true that the standards demanded by any code of morality must be maintained as long as that particular code is accepted as the dominating social factor, and it is equally true that in the maintenance of these standards the example of public men is an important factor. But this does not alter the fact that, had the details of Premier Brownlee's association with Vivian Macmillan not been flung in the faces of his countrymen, he would not have lost his prestige and, since the loss of prestige to a man in Mr. Brownlee's position means the loss of career, he was foredoomed to disaster before the case had been heard. Moreover, one is tempted to suggest that, in a country where it is a sin to be discovered in sin, everybody would have been better off if the case had not been reported in the papers. At least the issues, from the point of view of public policy, would have been kept in their correct proportion. Such an argument may seem to condone hypocrisy, but it should be remembered that there are various sorts of hypocrisy rampant in our country, and not the least reprehensible is that which distorts a man's mistakes, when they are discovered, under the guise of an interest in the public welfare which is in reality an interest in the private relationships of other people and a delight in any attendant miseries.

There is another point. If Vivian Macmillan was Premier Brownlee's mistress, does he therefore deserve the coals of fire which have been publicly heaped on his head? The existence of a mistress in a man's life is a simple, if reprehensible, fact, but certain sections of the press of this country made of it a strange tale of monstrosity as if there had never before been such an association between a public man and a woman with whom he was not joined in bonds of holy matrimony. Mme. de Pompadour had such a love affair with a public man; so, until she became Queen of France, did the pious Mme. de Maintenon, but upon these historic courtesans there now shines the white light of respectability. They and their lords are far enough removed, and sufficiently long dead, to trouble the established matron no longer. And, of course, they brought no legal actions.

Will Anything Come of It?

By WARREN K. COOK

WE Canadians are undoubtedly a nation of doubting Thomases. Almost without exception the question 'Will anything come of it?' is asked by men, when the Stevens Investigation, or more properly speaking, the 'Price Spreads and Mass Buying Investigation' is mentioned.

As the investigation has developed, the question has changed somewhat. First it was 'What is the use?—nothing will come of it.' Then later, 'Will anything come of it?' And now it is, 'What is going to come of it?' Even newspaper editors in stating that the disgusting conditions as recently exposed by the inquiry, must be stopped, are asking, 'What is going to be done about it?', stating that if governments do not correct such conditions, the people of Canada will put in a new government that will. Men are beginning to realize that Mr. Stevens and his committee mean business, and that worth-while legislation must result to change the amazing and terrible conditions being exposed.

Too few people, however, realize the tremendous importance to Canada of this investigation. It is quite as important, and may have as far-reaching effects on the industrial and social life of Canada as any of the several plans adopted by the various countries of Europe or the 'new deal' in the United States.

While it is not given to any man to more than guess as to what the ultimate outcome will be, yet thinking men feel that as a result of this investigation it is going to be better for the many, and that the few who have been exploiting the many are going to have a most difficult time indeed.

We are unquestionably entering a new cycle, a new era. Many of our old ideas, ideals, customs, laws and ethics have been outgrown, and must be dropped into the discard. By that I do not mean that we must become radicals, just the reverse in fact, for the systems and methods developed during the past few years have unquestionably been breeding radicalism and unrest.

The investigation has brought to light conditions that make it easier to understand and make it possible to place the responsibility for the development of communism in Canada. If you and I had to suffer these conditions to produce commodities for the large distributing organizations to sell at the handsome profits as exposed in the evidence then perhaps we too would be seeing red.

Besides being a nation of doubting Thomases, we Canadians are a most impatient people. We want to know 'What is going to come of it?' before the complete evidence has been placed before the committee. In other words, we are asking the jury for its verdict before it has heard the evidence. We must realize that legislation cannot be enacted to cure or curb unsound conditions until Parliament has been fully informed as to these conditions. It should be realized

that while certain serious charges have been made against our systems of distribution, these charges must be proven or disproven by investigation, then when the evidence is completed, the Government can and no doubt will bring in the necessary legislation to correct the conditions that are working to the detriment of the people as a whole.

Before considering 'what may come of it', it would be well to consider some of the things that have already come as a result of the investigation, any one of which is sufficient to justify the expense and the work of the committee, thus far.

The tobacco growers are to receive a fair price for their product. This alone will mean many thousands of dollars to the growers, and in turn to the merchants, manufacturers, loan companies and many others. Hundreds of thousands of dollars in back wages have been paid in fear of investigation, and more hundreds of thousands have been paid in increased wages, thus creating greater purchasing power, and resulting in better business for everyone. Some organizations have changed their whole policy of buying and merchandising, resulting in many benefits to suppliers and employees, and while these changes are well worth while, yet I have little faith in death-bed repentances.

As a matter of fact only today I was informed that in a dress factory operated by one of the large stores in Toronto, they had again reduced the rates, which had been adjusted during the investigation, and that the conditions are so bad that some forty girls were out on strike, although have not seen any mention of it in the newspapers. One girl, as an example, it is claimed, received \$2.90 for her work last week, and since she would be placed in the 20 per cent. class permitted by the Minimum Wage Act, they are 'within the law'.

Farmers in many cases are already getting a higher price for their hogs and cattle. Public opinion has been, and no doubt will be further aroused, by the exposure of the operation of many organizations, who have been getting rich at the expense of the workers, and public opinion, when sufficiently aroused, will do wonders in changing conditions.

Too many people and certain members of the press, seem to be under the impression that this is an investigation of certain organizations, and while of necessity many organizations had to be investigated, it is fundamentally an investigation into our various systems of distribution. Naturally, to form any definite conclusions as to the merits or demerits of these systems, the organizations comprising the systems had to be investigated, and all the facts concerning them made available for the Government. Then, too, certain very definite serious charges were made that the development of these systems of distribution, and the organizations comprising them, were detrimental to the well-being of

the people of Canada. Certain of the press are trying to intimate that because of the exposure of the policies and the business of these large organizations, the committee has not been impartial.

As I understand, the resolution brought in by the Prime Minister, the committee was formed to investigate Mass Buying and Price Spreads, in order to prove or disprove the serious charges that had been made regarding the operations of these companies, and the systems they represent. Had the investigation not been as complete and as thorough, then these same newspapers undoubtedly would have been making the charge that the committee were not making a thorough investigation, and were being influenced by the big interests. The charges had to be proven or disproven, and if proven, then most assuredly there is justification for the exposure. Surely the propaganda that is being published favourably to these corporations must have been written before the terrible sweat-shop and other damaging evidence was published.

It has also been said in defence of these organizations, that they only bought the things offered them by the manufacturers. Such utter rubbish is an excuse only suitable for those who do not look behind the scenes, and those who do not take the time or effort to study the fundamental principles behind this whole problem.

The terrible sweat-shop conditions, disgusting as they are, are only incidental to the real problems and the real conditions created by the development of these organizations, conditions that are affecting every man, woman and child in Canada, conditions that are making it impossible for men with university education and training to make use of their abilities—a terrible waste.

* * *

SOME of our leading economists contend that the development of the large units of distribution is an evolution just as there has been evolution in production by the mechanization of industry. They have contended that the new systems of distribution have been replacing the old because they are more efficient methods, and because they are able to sell to the consumer for less therefore the old must go. They have contended that the independent merchant must pass out of the picture, and if these developments were permitted to continue for another ten or twenty years, this would inevitably happen. We believe that the investigation has already and will no doubt further prove that the contentions of these economists are entirely wrong. It has been pretty well established that they do not sell like articles for less excepting in the case of 'loss leaders' or 'come-on' articles sold at prices to attract customers, as the spider does the fly.

It has also been demonstrated that the larger units such as the chain stores and large chain department stores are a more costly method of distribution and cannot therefore be considered as a development comparable to the mechanization of industry which made it possible to produce things more cheaply and thus make it possible for more people to have and enjoy the things so produced. It has as well demonstrated the necessity for these

organizations to buy for less in order to compete with the smaller units. It has been demonstrated that as they increase in size or number of units, it has been necessary for them to get higher and higher gross profits. This necessitates the pressure of mass buying to force the prices paid to the producer lower and lower, thus bringing about the awful sweat-shop conditions, to say nothing of the trail of failures and the nervous and physical wrecks strewn along the highway of their progress.

It may be asked, 'How has it been possible for these organizations to develop to the monopolistic proportions they have acquired?' Much of the blame for the development of these large units of distribution can be placed at the doorstep of the manufacturers of the last generation. At that time we had many wholesale distributing houses, a perfectly sound economical method of distribution for many commodities.

Because of the fact that these wholesale houses assumed the responsibility and cost of distribution and because they were able to buy in larger quantities, the latter being the smaller part of the saving, they were given a special discount which enabled them to sell to the retailer at as low or a lower price than if the manufacturer had sold his product direct. Some of these large retail organizations claimed that because they were buying in as large quantities as some of the wholesale houses and because they could pay cash, they were entitled to the same discount as the wholesale distributor. Manufacturers, little realizing the disastrous results, accepted this theory which was fundamentally wrong, and so the trouble started.

It must be realized that it is utterly unsound to give one retail distributor a special discount and expect his competitor to stay in business. The result of this discount system has been that the smaller dealers have been forced out of business, others have become poor credit risks, and the larger units have become larger and larger until they dominate the distribution to such an extent that they are not now satisfied with the wholesaler's discount. They must buy at such a low price that it is impossible for the manufacturer who sells them any considerable part of his output to pay fair wages or to make any profits whatever on the purchases of these organizations.

There are of course exceptions to this rule, but it will be found that even those organizations who have been able to make money for a time in selling these organizations eventually find themselves at the mercy of the mass buyer, and usually having lost or not developed any other outlet, they pass out of the picture very quickly.

Special discounts are therefore one of the principal evils which have made the development of large department and chain stores possible. Unfortunately the quantity discount theory has been accepted and practised to such an extent that many manufacturers and distributors have come to look upon it as a sound principle, without considering the disastrous results of such a policy. 'It may be wrong,' you will say, 'but what can we do about it?' If the investigation proves conclusively that this

system is detrimental to the well-being of the many, that it is forcing people out of business, that it is making it impossible to pay decent wages, that it is responsible for the concentration of capital with all its disastrous results, then why not in every bill of control proposed by each industry specify that there be no discounts of any kind to any retail distributors, regardless of size, by either manufacturer or wholesaler. It will be difficult we realize, to convince buyers that quantity buying should not be given a special discount. It is true that in many industries there is a small saving in producing large orders, but any such saving should go to a reduction on all orders, otherwise you create the very conditions that exist today, the large become larger at the expense of the small or medium size organization.

This does not necessarily mean that all prices will have to be raised, but all commodities should be sold at a fair price. We must all realize more fully that we must be prepared to pay a fair price for the things we buy, if we expect to receive a fair price for the things we sell, be they commodities or our services.

It inevitably reacts to the disadvantage of the purchaser every time he or she buys a bargain which has been produced at a loss or by paying lower than fair wages. A fair price is a price which enables an efficient manufacturer or distributor, both in fact, to produce and to sell an article under fair wage conditions with a reasonable profit for the services given in connection with the production and distribution of that article. Any lower price is curtailing the purchasing power of someone and eventually results in lowering of wages, unemployment and a lower standard of living.

Bargains are a crime against humanity and should be prohibited by law. If the women of Canada, who do perhaps eighty per cent. of the buying of consumer goods, would only realize that in buying bargains, they are causing much human suffering, in many cases even worse than just suffering on the part of the producers of the so-called bargains, and at the same time they are making it more and more difficult for themselves, or, if they are married, then their husbands or their sons, to earn a decent wage or salary, and unquestionably if persisted in, they will soon find their own purchasing power reduced and eventually they will not even have sufficient funds to buy bargains.

* * *
A GAIN you will ask, 'Well, what can be done about these things, and how can they be cured?' Many people think if we had adequate minimum wage laws properly enforced, it would eliminate all our troubles. True, honest enforcement of minimum wage laws, providing they were uniform throughout Canada, would help very much, but certainly would not be a cure-all. Minimum wages are after all only minimum wages just sufficient to provide the barest necessities, and too often, under the present system, the minimum becomes the maximum.

It should be remembered too, that the minimum wages are not a weekly, but an hourly rate, and while the Government says that the least a girl can

live on is the minimum weekly rate specified in the Act, yet, if a girl only works half a week, and receives only half the minimum wage to live on, where is the rest to come from?

Minimum wages, uniform throughout Canada with competent boards with full-time executives, not part-time chairmen engaged in other businesses as we have in Ontario and Quebec, with much more severe penalties for evasion, could accomplish much. The investigation has already shown the necessity of many changes in minimum wage laws, and unless the provinces can get together and agree on a definite policy, then, by all means, the B.N.A. Act should be changed to make Federal control possible. It must be realized how utterly impossible it is for the manufacturers in one province to be operating under one rate with strict enforcement, while those in the same kind of business, and catering to the same customers, are operating in another province where the rates are lower and perhaps there is little enforcement.

The investigation has also shown the absolute necessity for some plan for unemployment insurance in order that employees may not continually face the awful tragedy of being 'laid off'. The price of any commodity should be such as to include a sum sufficient to cover the manufacturer's share, and employee's wages should be sufficient to enable him or her to contribute their share. These, with government support and control, should provide sufficient funds to support the employee throughout the year, with reasonable provision for lean depression years. Any such plan must, of course, be national, for it would be impossible for any one industry or any branch, or section of an industry, to adopt such a plan and meet competition.

It has been suggested that the Combines Act might be changed to enable those engaged in any industry to get together to regulate their business even to the extent of making a fair price that would enable them to pay fair wages, and operate at a fair profit. Certain newspapers, particularly the financial group, are holding up their hands in horror at any such suggestion, 'Leaving a clear field for big trusts', they say. Well, if the organizations being investigated are anything other than monopolistic, then there is not such a thing, and if the Combines Act is to be applied, it should just as definitely be made applicable to such organizations who force prices down as those who hold them up. Of the two, I am quite sure the ill effects and disastrous results of the former, are much greater than the latter, which the law now provides against. In order to overcome the fears and possibilities of any such disastrous results as contemplated by a change of the Combines Act, it might be advisable or necessary to apply an Excess Profits Tax. Such a tax might not be popular, but if, say, one-half of any such tax were distributed among all those engaged in the production of the commodity including the executives, it would overcome the great danger of such a tax killing initiative and tending to slow up efficiency. It would be full protection against price agreement that would be unfair to the consumer.

It has been suggested that changes in the Com-

bines Act would be sufficient, if they permitted trade associations to get their members together and make rules and regulations that today would be illegal. Any such plan, however, without government control and supervision, would be utterly useless. The great majority of manufacturers and retailers in Canada are not 'association minded'. They simply will not get together for their own good, so that any plan that did not make compulsory compliance with controlled plans and regulations, would not better conditions, as it would still make it possible for the small minority in any industry to control that industry by doing the very things that are being done today.

A government board such as the present Railway Board has been suggested as a governing body to control and see that no unfair conditions or regulations, or bills of control as they might be called, are set up, and that the fair practice regulations in these bills of control of the various trade associations when approved by the board, are lived up to by all those engaged in that industry throughout Canada. The details of the set-up of such a board are not important at this time. It might be a large board to include representatives of industry, retailers and labour, with a chairman and vice-chairman appointed by and representing the Government in active control. In any case, it is suggested that the various trade associations should work out the plans and control their own industry under the supervision of the government board. It is now generally conceded that most industries need some form of regulation or control. Several have already drawn up such plans, yet the amazing thing is, that as far as I am aware, not one of these manufacturing industries have submitted to the committee or the Government any reasons whatsoever as to why they need any such plans. If they were to submit their reasons, they would inevitably condemn the mass buyer who is their largest customer, and they just naturally are afraid of offending them, even though they are responsible for getting them into the condition in which they find themselves.

If the investigation proves the charges that the chain stores and chain department stores are responsible for the forcing down of the prices paid to farmers for their produce, as well as the degradation of labour, unquestionably legislation will be enacted (if the new marketing bill does not take care of this problem) to make such a condition impossible in the future. If the investigation proves that chain stores and chain department stores and mail order systems of distribution are detrimental to the well-being of the masses and detrimental to the good of the country as a whole, then, such organizations must definitely be controlled. It may be necessary, as suggested above, to apply the Combines Act or change it to make it apply to such organizations. If those in control of these large organizations could read the hand-writing on the wall, they would, of their own accord, and for their own good, make plans, say covering the next two years, to dispose of all chain stores and branch stores and discontinue all mail order business.

They could be disposed of to much greater advantage to both buyer and seller, if such a plan were put into effect before the public fully realizes what has been going on, and they have lost their good-will. It should be stipulated that they could be disposed of only by individuals or local companies in each community, and possibly the Government might find it advisable to assist in financing such a plan. If the distribution of consumer goods were placed in the hands of the independent merchants in the various towns, these towns and cities would take on a new lease of life. Thousands of commercial travellers would be re-employed, railways and hotels would be busy. The money and the business of the country would be more sanely distributed, and real prosperity would be possible.

The development of the present system has resulted in the concentration of capital in the hands of the few, thus restricting purchasing power, resulting in much unemployment and the lowering of living standards. It gives the few too great a domination over our economic structure, with power to determine the kind of lives we shall live, and unless there is a definite change, more and more people will become little better than slaves. The few already controlling such a large percentage of the distribution of consumer goods, and the capital employed in production, operate on the theory of profit-making without consideration of the welfare of the people as a whole.

Very few dare to whisper a word against them, without being in danger of committing commercial suicide. This can only be changed by decentralizing industry, disposing of the many controlled distributing outlets to individual local owners. Also, it may be necessary for the Government to consider a plan for financing small business, a plan such as the new bank recently formed in England expressly for the purpose of financing small industrial or commercial organizations.

The suggestions herein are not in any sense intended as suggestions for a planned economy, they are merely suggestions as to what could, or should be done, as a result of this investigation to re-establish the middle classes—the manufacturer, labour, retailers, commercial travellers, professional men, farmers. If the committee investigating these things and the Government can sense the temper of the public—and I am quite sure they can and do—then there is no question that something worthwhile will come as a result of the investigation.



Jules Romains and His World

'Men of good will! An ancient blessing goes out to find them in the throng, and dwells with them. One day or another may they be brought together once again by good tidings, and find some sure means of recognizing one another, that this world of which they are the virtue and the salt may not perish.'

EVER since he commenced as an author, M. Jules Romains has known that he must 'sooner or later undertake a vast work of prose fiction which should express, in movement and multiplicity, in detail and development, the vision of the modern world.' He might have followed Balzac's example in the *Comédie Humaine*, and treated in separate novels a variety of subjects suitably chosen. When the work was finished and the novels placed side by side he might have had his picture of society. Or he might have chosen a single hero, either individual or family, and have followed his adventures, as Romain Rolland did in *Jean-Christophe*, and John Galsworthy in *The Forsyte Saga*. Both methods had the sanction of tradition, and both had their drawbacks. In the former it was too easy to miss a real synthesis, to show only a tenuous and theoretic connection between the parts. In the latter, probability limited the hero to adventures he might properly be expected to share, and acquaintances he might reasonably be allowed to make. Neither method was catholic enough for M. Romains. He wanted a freer hand and a vaster canvas. In *Men of Good Will* he strikes out along his own path.

At first appearance that path follows a most haphazard course. In one chapter a group of characters is introduced and a situation is outlined, only to be abandoned in the next chapter for another group and the beginning of another thread of plot. The first thread may be picked up again in chapter seven, or in chapter seventeen, the second in chapter five, or in chapter twenty-three. But it is not so confusing to the reader as it might seem. At the end of each volume is a résumé of the action, and at the end of every second volume an index of characters. M. Romains must have known that this method of interweaving the many threads of his story would eventually produce, in his readers' minds, the effect of watching a piece of fabric take shape on a loom. Very probably that was his purpose. As a literary device it is not new, but it has seldom before been used where, to return to the metaphor, the threads contrasted so boldly.

It is true that upon this new way there are new dangers. The final test of the work will be the author's skill in avoiding them. He must beware of achieving even less real unity, for example, than did Balzac. But he knows what is before him. 'I have no taste for being a dilettante in chaos. I hope we shall arrive somewhere. My title promises you that.'

Thus far, six volumes of this ambitious work have appeared in French. It is still too early to pass

judgment upon the whole, but the parts leave little to be desired. The scene, for the most part, is Paris, and the action begins on the sixth of October, 1908. When some future historian, planning a study of the first quarter of this century, casts about for sources, he might do worse than turn to *Men of Good Will* for his chapters on France. There he will meet the intellectuals, the men of affairs, the politicians and the inglorious masses. Wealth, fame or sheer subsistence animate them. They have their triumphs and their reverses, their opinions and their hopes and fears. The books are tremendously alive, with the vitality of the characters as well as their mere numbers. M. Romains keeps to a level of workman-like prose which never descends to eloquence for its own sake. The apostrophes that sometimes marred *Jean-Christophe* are not for him. And if one cannot always see whither single incidents are leading, it is only fair to wait for the coming volumes. Whatever be the final judgment upon the times of which he is writing, here they are, in all their diversity and complexity.

Indeed, this likeness of temper in the two periods (or in all periods?) would seem to be one of M. Romains' implicit themes. By multiplying his characters he merely emphasizes that the human beings are unimportant compared with their recurring problems, the apprehension of a general war, that anonymous enmity of society to which most men and women are at one time or another exposed, the struggle of the poor for a living. It is not that his persons are lay-figures. On the contrary, their acute personal perplexity and suffering reflect the more strikingly these forces which are beyond their control. If there is to be any salvation at all, it is in the author's men of good will.

It would be worse than tantalizing if for any reason M. Romains should leave his work unfinished. What becomes of Gureau, the rising young politician? Does Haverkaamp succeed in his great project with the mineral water? We know what happened to Jaurés and to the poet Moréas. Not less important to the reader than these characters from history are those others, purely fictitious, whom M. Romains presents. Happily, there is no reason to fear such a breaking-off. From one volume to the next the work does not falter. The illusion of reality remains as complete as ever, the situations are as sharply drawn, without sacrificing their primary interest as fiction, the books portray, too, forces as difficult to an author as the growing unrest among the labouring classes, the expansion of Paris beyond its old, cramping walls and the alignment of parties in the Chamber. As part of the times they are part of these volumes, and not the least interesting.

The complaint is common enough that, when so many books are published, no one could hope to read them all. Yet it would be a pity if, sparing time for *Anthony Adverse* and *Work of Art*, one should miss an offering that deserves comparison with *War and Peace*. True, *Men of Good Will* has yet to be finished. But the worst fate that can befall M. Romains will be to have written the most splendid failure of our times.

W. A. BREYFOGLE

The Lay of Elijah

By JERRY MEYER

CANTER ONE

Compute the Prophet

OF all the prophets raising hell
Throughout the coasts of Israel,
The loudest noise, the biggest shot,
The joker of the poker-pot,
The readiest of all to guide ye
Was that great man of God, Elijah.
He was a seer of portly build
With Bashan's beef and fatlings filled,
So crammed with vitamins and victuals
That life seemed always beer and skittles.
Hard times but made his heart more staunch
And bravely amplified his paunch.
Some have in error thought him thin
But hungry kine are prone to sin,
And none could venture to accuse
That saintliest of all the Jews.
Men crowded to the synagogue
To hear his pious monologue;
Or broke their rigid golfing rules
To see him in the Sabbath Schools.
He could quote Moses by the hour
(A proof of high prophetic power)
Or tell with unctuous eloquence
The why and where and what and whence
Of riches, temporal or holy,
As high ideals for the lowly.
At heart he did not give a whoop
For guidance from some Holy Group;
No bookman hooked him for a smarty
To grace a grand conversion party;
He gave such bands his benediction,
But favoured other schools of fiction.

Born by the sea, he had a nose
As blue as when some match-head glows.
His father trained him for the law.
He practised; starved; then musing, saw
An ampler living loom for him
Near foothills of Mount Ephraim.
There did he prosper mightily
In title and rotundity;
But since at last law's zest fell dead,
He turned to prophecy instead;
And learning how to make invective
A weapon slashing and effective,
He carved his way, and put it over
All other prophets of Jehovah,
Still more those liberal priests of Baal
Who gritted teeth and raised a wail
To see a zealot such as he
Direct the Jewish destiny.
Yet thousands greeted with acclaim
The crescent glory of his name,
Claiming his match could not be found
In those who eddy round and round.
That may be so; we venture here
To sketch the course of his career.

CANTER TWO

The Well-known Ravens

BACK in the dim, unhonoured days
When foes and rivals dogged his ways,
Once to Elijah on his bed
A little bird, or angel, said:
'Arise, and go far off, Elijah!
The sons o' guns are goin' to ride ye.'
The prophet woke; put on his pants;
And, moaning at his sad mischance,
Stole off in silence to the hills
To hide his head and dodge his ills.
Beneath a bush of juniper
He flung him down, and did aver:
'Woe to a land of grace bereft!
For I, alas, alone am left,
The one prophetic doctrinaire on
The mountains or the plains of Sharon;
And now they seek my wretched life,
Although I never had a wife
To make intriguing matrons swoon
In Judah's Land-of-Afternoon.
It is enough. I'd rather die
Than live an outcast such as I.'
So had he starved, had not a raven,
Divinely sent to feed the craven,
Brought with his brothers (dusky legions)
From every corner of those regions
A menu with a hundred courses
Of titbits from the land's resources.
They fed him there among the rocks
With rich preferred and common stocks
Of oil and pulp and steel and grain
That brought him back to faith again.
And ever after in affection
He gave the raven tribes protection.
He claimed such birds were sent to bless
The widowed and the fatherless:
They brought dead children back to health,
They cheered the widow reft of wealth,
And handed her, these faithful friends,
A cruse of deathless dividends.
He always stormed with thund'ring words
If other prophets blamed the birds
For plucking lambkins to the hide
And taking widows for a ride.
'Nay,' he affirmed in frenzy strong,
'The raven tribes can do no wrong;
And we must guard them from their foes,
Egyptian choughs and Syrian crows.
Let migratory birds be banned
To save the ravens of our land!'
Thus was the prophet's breast imbued
With the rare grace of gratitude.

CANTER THREE

Hot Stuff on Carmel

THERE came a summer, hot and dirty,
'Way back in B. C. nineteen-thirty,
When stout Elijah did assail
The standing of the priests of Baal.

For nigh a decade had the latter
 Been privy to King Ahab's platter;
 They'd ruled the land for many a year;
 Their leader was a plump vizier
 So mild he could not be a hater
 But starred as a procrastinator.
 Now in those days great trouble was
 On Ethiopia and Uz,
 Elam and Ur and Gath and Phut,
 On Sheba and the realms of Tut,
 Mesopotamia and Goshen,
 And all the lands beyond the ocean;
 A period of deep depression
 And economic retrogression
 Had gripped them all, since each refused
 To buy the goods the others used.
 The Thracians on their cold savannahs
 Tried hard to raise their own bananas,
 While Ethiopians toiled with moans
 To start a trade in ice-cream cones.
 Only in Canaan did the folk
 Grow rich as oil or duck-egg yolk,
 Exchanging products of their labours
 For manufactures of their neighbours.
 Such was the Baalite policy;
 But now Elijah sought to be
 The first adviser to the crown
 And damned free-traders up and down.
 So vehement was his invective
 That all the nation grew Protective,
 Such is the force of lungs in season
 Against the passive peace of reason.
 'How long,' said he, 'in these Dominions
 Halt loyal men 'twixt two opinions?
 Raise high your tariffs! Make blockade!
 And stop this treasonable trade!
 Our native ravens will grow thin
 Unless we check this deadly sin.'
 Such was his speech one day in June
 On Carmel's mountain, to impugn
 The priests of Baal, who thronged the heights
 With full ten million Israelites.
 'Not so,' replied the Baal-priests then,
 Appealing to that host of men,
 'Would you not sell your provender,
 Especially to Chaldean Ur,
 From which our grandsire Abram came
 To settle in this land of fame?
 Judean wheat will rot unsold
 If you refuse all foreign gold.'
 Bright inspiration then was born
 Within Elijah's brain of scorn:
 'I promise you, beyond all doubt,
 To keep our neighbours' products out
 And at the same time sell our wheat,
 For every nation has to eat;
 And should some erring race refrain,
 I'll blast a market for our grain!'
 Then, for the people's admiration,
 He staged a local demonstration;
 He built an altar of compunction
 And poured twelve barrels of oily unction
 On faggots of explosive phrases
 And campaign booklets, hot as blazes;

Still gazing as the day grew dark,
 The people did not see the spark
 Brought subtly by a wired cord on
 A power plant upon the Jordan,
 A recent venture, started there,
 By a Baal-priest concessionaire.
 The pyre blew up; the crowd went wild;
 The priests of Baal were all reviled;
 And the stout hero of my story
 Won five safe years of power and glory.

CANTER FOUR

The Prophet Has His Day

THEN was Elijah glad and great,
 And might have lived in royal state
 Had he been harnessed to a spouse
 To insist upon a splendid house.
 Instead of that, he chose to dwell
 Unwedded at a grand hotel,
 Scorning the ease of softer ways
 And drudging through laborious days.
 His letters (though the record varies)
 Wore out a hundred secretaries;
 His interviews were past all count;
 His speeches were an endless fount.
 His reputation issued forth
 To East and West and South and North:
 He sent his sister's husband out
 As chief ambassador and scout
 To Egypt and its mighty States
 Just southward from Judea's gates;
 Another legate went as guest
 To distant kingdoms of the West;
 And some declare his envoys ran
 To sunrise coasts of far Japan.
 To Conference at Jerusalem
 Came all the kindred tribes of Shem,
 And even Babylon's great city
 Sent over a select committee.
 The prestige of Elijah's power
 Sank swiftly from that famous hour,
 For export trade, foretold with pride,
 Soon shrank away and almost died.
 At first, poor fools just shouted louder
 With blessings on his blasting-powder;
 But all the people all the time
 Can't be deluded; and the crime
 Of muddy economic thinking
 Had passed the stage of stupid blinking.
 Thus provinces of Canaan grew
 Bewildered, vexed, extremely blue,
 Then started in to use their head
 And ended up an angry red.
 Two tribes of Israel in one day
 Rose up in wrath to have their say,
 And voted solid for a change
 From policies so void and strange.
 Elijah tried the ancient bluff
 Of working thunderbolts and stuff,
 And when the folk commenced to bawl
 Called fire down upon them all.
 The day stayed fine; the sky was clear;
 No sacred brimstone did appear.

'You've no more skill,' they roared like comics
 'In Nature than in Economics.'
 The prophet turned a sultry pink,
 And used his well-known brain to think:
 'Beware,' he shouted, 'or, by Moses,
 I'll leave you for a bed of roses
 Aloft in heaven, my proper place,
 And none will save this erring race!'
 Then looking round, he raged to see
 Their acquiescent jollity.

CANTER FIVE

Elijah Goes Up

THAT day arrived, foretold and fated,
 When he at last should be translated
 Unto another, nobler sphere
 With softer skies and beds than here.
 There poet, sage, or scientist
 May figure in a Holy List
 As honoured baronet or knight
 Forever in the realms of light;
 While the terrestrial rich may come
 To be a baron, bold as rum,
 Or even, by some lucky fluke,
 A marquis or a glass-eyed duke;
 The killer of his kind may mount
 Through war to be a ruddy count;
 And many a profiteering churl
 Basks blessed as an ermined earl;
 But special rank, in spite of Tophet,
 Is showered on the mighty prophet
 Whose policies, like holy leaven,
 Swell grateful in the sight of heaven.
 So did the angels importune
 Elijah one fair Third of June
 Borne in their best Rolls-Royce to rise
 And be a peer in paradise.
 He bargained first, to serve his ends,
 For kindred honours for his friends—
 When they in turn should leave the earth
 To revel in the realms of mirth—
 Then posed and cried in accents steady:
 'Step on the gas! My soul is ready.'

In stories that some people tell,
 His mantle on Elisha fell,
 Bestowing on that faithful follower
 His greatness, only somewhat hollower.
 What really happened was that Two
 In frenzy at that raiment flew,
 Each beating off the other's hands
 With angry threats and hoarse demands.
 One, eagle-nosed and glassy-eyed,
 Had walked the Roads with stately stride;
 An honourable speaker, he
 Could match Elijah's dignity.
 The other, though a rougher sort,
 Could Harry him with many a snort,
 Assisted by the sweated poor
 Who hoped to make good wages sure.
 While o'er the cloak they smote and sware,
 The priests of Baal bumped off the pair.

What of Elijah, who had gone
 To loll upon Elysium's lawn?

Though little's known to earthlings yet,
 A cherub with my Muse once met
 And told her of Elijah's smiles
 On landing in the Happy Isles.
 The seraphs gave him as a starter
 A bath, a thistle, and a garter;
 Then made him, with a thousand thrills,
 The Viscount of Valhalla Hills.
 He married with a holy dowry
 A ruddy Happy Island houri:
 Matches are made in heaven they say,
 And there with joy we'll let him stay.

Without Sackcloth

SOME day a treatise may be written upon the
 subject of why men become radical. There are
 many reasons and scant similarity between
 them. Many such men, of course, are hungry and
 others discontented with their personal estate; some,
 a minority, are prompted by an artistic revolt
 against the standards upon which the *status quo* is
 based; but by far the most common radical, at least
 in Canada, seems to be the temperamental puritan
 who has lost his faith in ecclesiastical dogma.

Social and economic reform provides a fertile
 field for the activities of a churchman out of love
 with the existing forms of religion. The goal can be
 identified with the Christian ideal and the way is
 pleasantly beset with discomforts; furthermore the
 effecting of this reform involves that personal disci-
 pline beloved of the puritan. Once the cry was,
 'There must be no sin'; now, it is, 'There must be
 no disorder'. The difference is probably little more
 than one of terminology.

In some ways this is a fortunate diversion of the
 puritanical urge into practical channels, but there
 exists one great disadvantage. The strain of eco-
 nomic puritanism which permeates progressive
 thought has brought about a misconception in the
 public mind of the true ideal of today's reformer.
 The goal is that of a full life for all humanity, ex-
 pansively lived and ennobled by human conscious-
 ness; it is an essentially hedonistic ideal, in the best
 sense of that misused term. But the present radical
 is too often a lugubrious and determined fellow who
 would not know what to do with himself if his ideal
 world were suddenly attained, since under those
 circumstances he would have lost his purpose in life.
 Perhaps, as H. G. Wells suggests, he is a necessary
 factor in the evolution of the race, just as the gla-
 ciers were important in the obliteration of early life
 forms, but this justification does not raise his tem-
 perature.

Mr. E. J. Garland, U.F.A. member for Bow
 River, stands out in contrast to many members of the
 rank and file of the movement he so genially assists.
 None has a more biting tongue than he, and few can
 be more acrid in their comments when the occasion
 demands, but there is no doubt that Mr. Garland
 would not find time hanging heavily on his hands
 should he be precipitated by some miracle into that
 future when the smooth working of the economic



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system will have obviated the necessity for economists. He would smoke his pipe and chatter pleasantly in that paradise regained, and would not try to keep people off the grass.

One explanation of Mr. Garland's chosen part is that he is in artistic revolt against the stupidities of his period, and that he is therefore determined, out of deference to his manhood, to proclaim his lack of faith and kick the surrounding idols. There are many people today in this position and their attitude can be as sincere as that of the most ardent proletarian enthusiast; moreover, they enjoy over that type of reformer the advantage of being able to smoke a good cigar in a good hotel and still criticize the system which limits such an experience to the few.

Another explanation for Mr. Garland's career is manifest when he appears on the public platform. It is worth one's while to watch him in action. Swaying slightly, to give emphasis to his points, one knee slightly crooked, wagging an eloquent finger, Ted

Garland is at his best. He loves public speaking; he loves the feel of the crowd, the assertion of his personality over that crowd, the glare of the footlights. And he is one of the few Members of Parliament today who by his approach to public speaking concedes to that activity the dignity of an art. Our tragedy is that to so few Canadian public men is speaking an end in itself—as it was, for instance, to the late Lord Birkenhead—and as a result our public meeting places are plunged in gloom, or resemble shell craters shaken by the thunder of unregulated cannon.

Mr. Garland cuts a happy figure among the ranks of the reformers, but it is touched with pathos, for he represents that clash which exists within so many people today—the clash between the debt they owe to the future and the debt they owe to themselves and the life which they only live once. And if the economic puritans are right, a period may come when the good cigars will have to be laid aside while we prepare an epicurean world for our grandchildren.

D'ARCY MARSH.

Democracy and Education

By JOSEPH McCULLEY

THE progress of civilization has been the story of man's development from isolation to co-operation. Primitive man was an individualist. He lived in his own little cave in constant fear of his enemy on the other side of the hill and in mortal terror of anything that existed beyond his own immediate horizon. Slowly and gradually, however, he learned that safety for the individual was promoted as he learned to co-operate with others. The desire for self-protection was one of the basic movements behind the formation of primitive communities. This idea, however, gradually expanded through various forms of clan and tribal development until the appearance of the modern nation-state. It is conceived as one of the functions of our present day social organization that through co-operation and sharing of common responsibilities and duties, each individual should have a maximum of opportunity to live his own life in the best possible way.

The characteristic political organization of the nineteenth century is an expression of this ideal (for it has been an ideal rather than an actuality). Rousseau's philosophy postulated a real degree of freedom for the individual in the political forms that we speak of under the general name of democracy. The history of the nineteenth century is largely the history of the achievement of some form of democratic government, in most of the countries of our western world. It was assumed that a sort of millennium would be achieved when all the adult citizens shared in the government through the franchise and when government itself was made responsible to the people from whom it was assumed the power of government was originally derived.

In these latter days, however, our naïve faith in

democracy has been rudely shattered and it is incumbent upon thoughtful observers to enquire what has happened.

The industrial revolution marked the beginning of a new type of economic organization. Parallel with the development of the forms of political democracy during the last 100 years there has developed an economic oligarchy which has in large measure tended to vitiate the potential achievements of democracy. Power has been concentrated in fewer and fewer hands and recent investigations in a number of countries have demonstrated the extent to which the political scene is controlled from back stage by the economic power. It is a question now whether government controls business or business controls government. Considering the tremendous power held in the hands of our economic overlords the question is being asked whether democracy can survive.

The growth of socialistic theory in recent years has been a protest against this state of affairs. The Russian experiment is a threat to the whole current economic ideology. Whether it succeeds or whether it fails, it will undoubtedly affect in tremendous measure the lives of our grandchildren.

Countering the growth of socialism and definitely aligned against communism there have developed in the past few years fascist movements of various kinds. The first of these, in Italy, was looked upon as a more or less personal expression of the ideas of its leader; or, if not quite so individual, at least it was considered to be a method of government which might be suitable to the Italian people, but not necessarily to others. It was explained that as a nation they had never really learned the basic principles of political organization necessary to the

successful working of the democratic machine and that temperamentally a dictatorship was suitable to them.

The National Socialist movement in Germany under Hitler was at first a joke. It was felt that the Social Democratic party was competent to operate the Weimar Constitution and through it to continue a successful working democracy. The course of international events since the Versailles Treaty, coupled with the effects of the depression, gave Hitler and his associates their opportunity, and at the present moment the National Socialist movement in Germany must be considered a major factor in world affairs.

The last vestiges of democracy have disappeared in Austria and under the new Austrian constitution the diminutive chancellor acknowledges his responsibility to God and none to the people. While the situation has not gone so far in France, recent events have demonstrated the strength of the parties of the Right and it is not at all unlikely that the near future will see in that country a definite movement away from the principles of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' and a dictatorial government of a fascist type installed in power.

Observers in Great Britain are concerned over the recent accession of strength to the parties headed by Sir Oswald Mosley and powerful newspaper interests are behind him in his effort to save Great Britain by a fascist movement which is a complete denial of the British democratic tradition. In view of the success of fascist parties on the continent of Europe this threat to the British tradition cannot be taken lightly, even though at the moment it may not seem very close to power.

The Rooseveltian experiment in the United States has been said to hold within it the seeds of fascism or socialism. Any measurable degree of planning or a serious limitation of profits is contradictory, however, to the basic philosophy of our present individualist or capitalist economic structure. Strong opposition groups are making themselves felt in the United States against these features of Roosevelt's administration and it seems likely that any trend toward a permanent socialist organization in the United States will be effectively prevented. The trend, therefore, will be increasingly in the direction indicated by the fascist governments of the continent with certain regulation of industry but in the interests not of the community as a whole but of special groups within that community.

Communism as we have it exemplified in Russia is unquestionably destructive of democratic forms. Fascism as we have seen it on the continent is equally destructive of democratic forms. We are, then, apparently facing the possibility of the complete decay of a political form which we are accustomed to believe provides for the individual adequate opportunity for the expression of personality and the attainment of all those objectives which philosophers include under the general heading of 'the good life'.

One of our Canadian political leaders a few months ago admitted that in these modern days democracy had become little more than the

technique of getting the largest number of heads counted on your side on election day. This is a sad commentary on the history of the last 100 years. It is an indictment of our own weaknesses that in such a comparatively short time the shining vision of the philosophers should have been so completely lost. The basic reason for the present condition of democracy is that vested interests and economic pressure groups have utilized the machinery of democracy in the pursuit of their own selfish ends. There have been and are influences that should have arrested this process but in too many cases these groups have missed their opportunity.

The institutional expansion of the churches has necessitated the expenditure of large sums of money and for this money they have been dependent on some of those same interests that have been manipulating the political machinery to their own ends. The pressure has been subtle and insidious and it is doubtful if the church has even been conscious of the fact that her silence has been purchased at a price.

A similar process has been in evidence in our schools and largely through the same mechanism our educational institutions from lower to higher have been in a great measure defenders of the *status quo*. Controversial issues must, at all costs, be kept out of the classroom and criticism of our existing social and economic structure must be silenced before it is uttered. The churches and the schools have recently been told that they must stay out of politics.

Against this doctrine of religious and education passivity we cannot raise too strong a protest. It is the function of both the schools and the churches to keep before mankind the highest vision of its possibilities. The task is not merely to redeem individuals or to enable them to adjust themselves to the unideal conditions in which they find themselves, but to challenge them to change the unideal, to bring it nearer to the ideal, to bring nearer to realization the prophet's dream of a kingdom of God on earth, 'wherein justice shall flow down like the waters and righteousness like a mighty stream'.

The centre of gravity in human affairs has changed or is changing from politics to economics and those who would be effective in the building of civilization must recognize this fact. That schools and teachers, religious leaders and philosophers have been blind to the processes that have been going on, is no excuse for them continuing to neglect that responsibility.

'Democracy must not be identified with political forms and functions as it has been confused in the minds of the masses for generations.* It is rather 'a sentiment with respect to the moral equality of man: it is an aspiration toward a society in which this sentiment will find complete fulfilment.'* Where teachers have accepted the responsibility for directing the cultural stream—a prophetic and creative rôle in their own civilizations—they have been successful. Ancient Greece is a proof of this. Pre-War and present day Germany are an indication that a philosophy can be inculcated in the youth. The

*George S. Counts, Teacher's College, Columbia University.

educational machinery of the new Russian state is considered as a matter of major importance. The Roman Catholic Church has always stressed the necessity of giving to young people a vision of life and a set of attitudes which will direct the course of their activity. The present weaknesses of democracy and the aggrandizement of privileged groups within our economic structure present this challenge to our schools and teachers today. Science has offered to us 'a vision of a world of abundance, rich in things and in values. There is no fundamental or essential shortage of the good things of life for which we must all scramble. We shall have to sharpen our wits to the task of developing an economic (and political) system based on fundamental justice'† and the underlying principles of human interest and personal values. 'The potentialities of the world are beyond imagination.'‡ As teachers 'we should despair of that fact and even wish to suppress it if we did not also believe that the potentialities of the human mind and heart for the welfare of mankind are likewise beyond imagination.'‡

Keeping in mind the almost infinite possibilities of human development, it is the duty of all educational institutions to stay actively in the fight against all influences which in any way lower this fine conception. As teachers we may not have in our possession the blue prints of the new order: human society is organic in character, and the detailed form of its growth cannot be accurately predicted. What can be predicted, however, is the direction of that growth, and it is evident that it is toward some form of society in which there will be a much larger measure of co-operation than there has been in the past. It seems likely that governments acting as the agents of the community will undertake to regulate more closely many spheres of activity: at the same time it is likely that in many areas there will be increasing freedom for individuals to exercise their own individual genius in the leisure time that will be available to all.

Schools, therefore, should emphasize, for the individual, an increasing number of activities of a creative and re-creative character, that individuals may be prepared to utilize wisely the opportunity for leisure that will be theirs. At the same time, schools must stress throughout their programmes the spirit of cheerful and willing co-operation in all those activities which make for the common good. Students should be trained to look behind the headlines of their news, and to question traditional ideas which freely circulate among us merely because of the fact that they are traditional. All of these tasks can be accomplished by the schools if directors of educational policy will give the lead.

The school cannot and must not be a propaganda agent. It can, however, keep before its pupils the objective of a more just and more equitable social and economic order in which the moral equality of men is recognized as a criterion by which the worth of all human activity must be judged. To do this and at the same time to prepare students to make

†Secretary of Agriculture H. A. Wallace, United States Federal Cabinet.

their own contributions to life in such a society is the supreme task of our schools today. It will undoubtedly require a critical evaluation of much that today passes under the name of education—it may indeed mean a 'revolution' in current pedagogical practice. Better far, however, a revolution of this sort in our schools than the complete decay of the democratic tradition in our society and a flight to a Canadian Stalin or Mussolini for safety!

DRY WOOD

(An Old Tree Speaks)

I am dry wood.

The vital sunshine of the Spring is stored within me,
But the cells of pith are shrunken,
The heart is become hollow
And the bark is gray.

'Come hither, consummate Spirit,
And as the forked lightning strikes me suddenly,
Kindling the dry tinder of my being into a living
flame,

That the stored sunlight of a hundred Summers
May be given back again to its source.

'Even as the martyrs burned, so would I burn
joyously;

Even as a Viking chieftain, upright in the tall prow
of his dragon-ship,

His hoary dignity unbowed by time,
Fared gloriously to Valhalla surrounded by the
scarlet banners of a thousand flames,
So would I also, beacon-like, blaze royally in my
death.

'Let the light of my going be a fiery symbol
And the smoke of my passing a ghostly sign;
If so my blackened embers and my ashes
May add to earth some lingering savour or pungent
tang.'

But the eternal Spirit answers 'Nay,
Dry wood indeed thou art, exceeding dry,
And thy dryness hath need of enriching.
Fall thou in the place where thou standest,
Lie prostrate and humbled;
Let the fungi and mosses and ferns; ferns, mosses
and fungi,

Be sown in thee, grow, and spread over thee,
Telling thee secrets of earth that the sun hears no
no hint of.

'Lie down for an eon; forget thyself under the falling
leaves;

Resist not the burrowing wasp, the gnawing of
worm or of beetle,

Until thou art buried at last under green vines and
tempest-flung branches,

And liest fallow, folded in the loam;

Till it warm thee and crush thee and smother thee;
Till it numb thee and smother thee and press thee;
And thy heart be made one with the heart of the
earth,

And be filled with the joy of the earth and the
earth's old distresses.'

DOROTHY C. HERRIMAN

The Logic of Tippoo Na Gai

By HENDRIK VAN LOON

TIPPOO NA GAI sat in the sun and baked himself. He was unhappy for he wanted a wife and to marry a wife is no small undertaking among the tribe of Kuniakari. It is not enough to have a dog and a bow and arrow or even a hut and a yoke of oxen. The stern father-in-law demands a handsome sum of money before he allows his daughter to leave his house. And of money or anything that would take its place Tippoo Na Gai possessed none. Hence he was unhappy. Many hours he sat and then when the sun went down over the stubby mountain side of Wayaduga he took himself to the house of Kuru Koro, where lived the object of his affection.

Why describe the interview that follows. It resembled many others that had gone before. It anticipated many others of a similar nature. With many an oath and many a curse Tippoo Na Gai was driven away from the house of his beloved. As a final shot the irate father of the beautiful Tarungube, whose skin was as black as the night before moonrise, gave his future son-in-law some very sound advice: 'My daughter is worth the money I ask. If you have not the amount become a soldier and gain the reward the foreigners pay for those who carry their flag into the country of our enemies. Go away, thou loafer.'

This day was the day of the great crisis in the life of Tippoo Na Gai. That night he left his village. Three days later he reported for service in the nearest settlement of the White Men. Physically, he was as fit as a wild ass. He was taken into the army and he was set to work as a member of the native legion. Three years he would be obliged to rise before the sun and to go to his tired bed long after the coming of the dusk. At the end of three years he would receive one hundred shining pieces of silver. Even Jacob worked no harder to win his beloved Rachel than did Tippoo Na Gai to gain Tarungube, the woman of his dreams.

Two of the years had passed by and Tippoo had been promoted to be a corporal of his company. He now wore shoes and he spoke the language of the foreigner.

Then one evening a sudden rumour swept through the barracks of the native troops. In the morning they must be ready. There was a great war in a distant land and the men of the tribe of the Kuniakari must go and fight the enemy of their white friends.

Curiously enough the men had never taken part in actual warfare. For the last three years all had been quiet along the frontier and their days and nights had been passed in the regular routine of soldiers doing barrack duty. Therefore, there was great joy when they heard that war had broken out, for war meant all that was pleasant and glorious. Their Colonel had often told them so. This very morning he had called the troops together and had

made a glowing appeal to the bravery of his troops. He was a fair man and fond of his simple natives. They, from their side, were willing to go through Fire and Hell for their Great Master. 'Be brave, my children,' he had said, 'and bring glory to your regiment. Attack the enemy where you find him, and kill him.' The men had shouted 'Hurra' and then they had been dismissed to pack up their belongings. Tippoo Na Gai, when his few clothes had been put together into a small bundle, had gone out to the church. He loved the church. It was a beautiful place. It smelled of strange and mysterious odours and the light was very curious and looked like the time of sunset when Tarungube went out to fetch water for her father. Inside the church there lived the Priest, who loved all his black children and told them that they would go to Heaven with the White Men. Only they must be good and not steal and not get full of evil liquor and they must not hate each other but love their neighbours like themselves.

'Father,' said Tippoo Na Gai, 'I am going away. I am a soldier and I must fight the enemy.'

'My son,' the Priest answered, 'thou must be brave and fight well and kill thine enemy.'

'But, Father, hath thou not taught me to love mine enemy like my brother?'

'Indeed, so I have, and my heart is glad that thou hath learned this lesson.'

'Then why must I kill mine enemy and not love him like my brother?'

'My son,' the Priest answered, making an end to the interview, 'this is a complicated matter and perchance thou doth not understand these things as well as thy brother, the white man. But thine enemy is an evil man and thou must be a good soldier and kill him when there is a chance.'

'My father, bless me, and I shall be a good soldier and come back with much glory.'

The next day a long train of open cattle cars took down the regiment to the coast. There it was stowed away, packed away, or whatever you wish to call it, into a number of old tramp steamers. Ten days later the load of dejected and miserably sick humanity was once more unloaded upon a quay in a strange city, hustled into a long line of cars and was moved northward to meet the enemy. The wretchedness of the sea voyage was forgotten. All was happiness and cheer. The great day was coming, the day when the regiment might fight the monstrous enemy who must be destroyed because he was bad.

For two weeks Tippoo Na Gai lived among strange surroundings in a land which he did not know. He slept in a hayloft, but sixteen hours of each day he was taught to march and to shoot and to charge and to stick his sharp bayonet into the leather bag which was hanging down from the branch of a tree. Then one day, the Colonel looked

at his men and said, 'They are ready.' The next day the regiment was called out at three o'clock in the morning and was marched in a single file to the foremost line of trenches. A week went by. Slowly the hours of day and night crept by while the men sat and waited, but nothing happened. One morning Tippoo Na Gai spoke to his Colonel, 'I wish that I might fight and kill our enemies.' 'Patience, my son,' the Colonel said, 'the day will come soon and thou shalt have thy wish fulfilled.'

And behold, after forty-eight hours the order came to the regiment to make ready for a charge. Then all day long the terrible guns far behind the trenches boomed forth their message of destruction and the thin brown line of the enemy's stronghold was almost blown to pieces when the hour of six came, and the men were told to make ready for an assault.

The Colonel whispered his instructions. 'My children, I have been a Father to you. Now you must bring honour to me and to our country. There right in front of you is the enemy. Go forth and kill him,' and waving the little cane which he carried instead of a sword, he jumped out of the trench and fell dead with a bullet through his head. The men saw him fall, and their rage was that of the tiger whose mate has been killed. In less than a minute they were in the trench of the enemy and what then happened can not be described because nobody would be willing to print it. Tippoo Na Gai had been in the front rank. His teeth were set and his hands clapped his gun. A bullet came and hit him in the ear. He felt the warm trickle of the blood. With the fury of a wild animal he jumped down into the trench of the enemy and with one violent thrust he pinned the nearest soldier to the soil very much after the fashion of a butterfly in an entomological collection. The man shrieked. He was of a race not familiar to Tippoo Na Gai. He had red hair and a long red beard. Tippoo Na Gai remembered this, but then something hit him and he fell down. He groped into the air with his arms, but it was no use. 'Anyway, I have killed my enemy,' he mumbled and then all was black.

When Tippoo Na Gai came to he was in a clean cot and in the middle of a long row of small white beds. A woman came to him. Tippoo Na Gai knew who she was. She was one of the angels of Heaven who had come to earth to tend the fallen heroes.

'You must be very still,' she said.

'Am I hurt?' the wounded man asked.

'You were shot through the thigh but you are in no danger.'

'I am a brave soldier and I have killed my enemy as I was told to do.'

'You are a brave soldier and God have mercy upon your enemy.'

Then she went away and Tippoo Na Gai fell asleep. After some hours he opened his eyes and feeling much relieved he looked about. First he looked at his neighbour on the left. But he could not see him for his entire face was bandaged. And then he turned to the right and a terrible fear came over him. There on his right, painfully breathing,

his wide open eyes staring up at the ceiling, lay the man with the red hair and the long red beard, whom Tippoo Na Gai had wanted to kill.

At once a nurse came towards him, 'You must lie down very still,' she said.

'Sister,' he asked, 'who is that man on my right?'

'He is one of our enemies who was very badly wounded when you brave men took their trench. He is a prisoner now and we shall try to make him better soon.'

'Will he die?'

'No, he will live but we must take very great care with him.'

For the second time in his life Tippoo Na Gai fainted. He had not been a good soldier. He had been told to kill his enemy. He had failed. His enemy was alive and deeply he felt the shame of his disgraceful neglect.

For several days he was delirious and often he wept. He would never get over this disappointment. He had not done his duty well. He had been told to kill his foe. But his enemy was alive and day after day he was getting nearer to recovery. Certainly all was wrong with the world.

After a fortnight the fever disappeared, followed by a week of listless dreaming. The wound in his leg was almost healed. But the simple soul of Tippoo Na Gai felt dishonoured and his heart was sad. And then it happened one day that the wounded man was allowed to sit up and even hobble a few steps upon his painful crutches.

It was a warm day of spring and the nurse thought it would be a good idea to gather some flowers for her sick men. Pleasantly she smiled and told her patients that she would be back within a few minutes.

The great chance had come to Tippoo Na Gai. Once he had failed in his duty. He would not fail a second time. He slipped out of bed and one step brought him to the cot of his neighbour. A sudden pressure of two strong thumbs upon the windpipe, a violent upheaving of the heavy body and the enemy of Tippoo Na Gai fell back dead. One of the patients gave a scream. The nurse came rushing into the room. There she found a black man smiling with the confident eyes of a child. 'I am a brave soldier now. I have done my duty. I have killed mine enemy.'

It took a court martial just ten minutes to condemn to death the corporal of the second native regiment, named Tippoo Na Gai, accused and convicted of 'wilful murder'.

The sentence was to be carried out at once. The prisoner, very calm and apparently ignorant of what was about to happen, asked that he might say a few words. His request was granted.

'Great Master,' he said, addressing the court, 'you told me to be a brave soldier and kill my enemy.'

'So we did.'

'And now I will be killed myself because I did what I was told to do.'

Even when the bullets hit his breast he still mumbled, 'I do not understand the way the white men reason'.

This Muddy Vesture

By ELEANOR McNAUGHT

THE hot September sun beat down on the yellow country road as I drew up beside the old churchyard. A cloud of dust still whirled in the air behind me, as far as the turn in the road where the willows bent over Five-mile Creek. The ditch by the roadside was wide and shallow, and bedded with long grasses, Queen Anne's lace and golden rod, and I left the car in the shade of the gigantic maples that grew in a row inside the rough stone fence. They had huge boles and stood in contrast to the scrub and new growth that bordered the farms round about. Their shade spread far out across the narrow road, and towards sunset reached the roof of the long driving shed, now used only by nesting birds and an occasional storm-caught traveller.

The church was old, as Canadian churches go, having held its hundredth anniversary service several years ago. Then people came, many from the city, in large cars, and these shattered the peaceful scene with loud reminiscences, and effort to prove to the country people that they were still one with them at heart, and that their only desire in life was to get back from the city to God's good green earth. But this noise passed presently, and those who had really returned to God's green earth some time ago were left in serene command once more. And Time, the Strange Guest, continued his task of mellowing the golden pine of the pews and the high pulpit, of softening the outlines of the plain glass windows with his dust, of spreading lichen on the headstones outside in the sun, and of occasionally toppling one of them over, to the fret of old Angus Machlin, whose job it was to keep the grass cut.

The late August drouth had seared the turf, and it crinkled under my feet like dry moss. The century old maples stood in a row round to the back of the stone church, and their heavy shade kept the air moist and mouldy. The coolness was like the taste of well water. Around here were the oldest graves of the district. Here the history of early Canada lies in patient rows.

Euphemia McTaggart, aged 27, beloved wife of James McTaggart, late of Skye, lies here with Helen, aged three, and John, aged two, and Jean, infant daughter, aged six months. It was lack of doctors and comfort, of course, but they were grim Scotchmen in those days with little time to feel sorry for themselves, so, through the lichen, we decipher,

'Stranger, think of the Judgment Day.
She in her prime was called away.'

Here were James, Hugh, Robert and Annie, children of Andrew McPhail, all gone before their thirtieth year, and Mary, their mother, at thirty-nine. Andrew and Mary came from Argyle. Those first Canadian winters must have been a long hor-

ror to them in their log cabins, with the children crying from cold. Probably they came out from Argyle in the Springtime when this whole district was a green, warm bower. However, Andrew himself survived to be eighty-four, and we can see him with his white whiskers and square face, taking long walks through the countryside when church was done. Those old Scotchmen could walk. I had a great-grandfather who walked the six miles to Kirk every Sunday till he was ninety-one. If the early settlers survived the cold and hunger of the first years, they usually lived on to the late eighties.

These oldest tombstones were set there before the church was built. Meetings were held in a small wooden affair at first, until the men had time to put up the fine stone structure, which must have been their boast for miles around. It was build of fieldstones chipped to a certain smoothness, and so well put together that the century has left little trace on it. The door of weathered pine was locked, but by standing on a stone projection I could see through one of the long, dusty windows, to the vestry and the box stove which had its body in the church proper. Through the door of this stove long sections of tree trunks could be poked, in an effort to warm the congregation when the snow was deep and the temperature down to 30 below.

Leaving the shadows I walked out into the fragrant, yellow heat that lay beyond, reading as I passed. The imprint of John Knox lifted with the passing of the years, and the growing material comfort of life. The Trump of Doom was softening out into the Hallelujah Chorus. The later epitaphs show a warmth of affection and remembrance that would have shamed those earlier Hughs and Andrews from Argyllshire. Was it contact with the superficial Sassenach, or were the rounding hills of Ontario erasing the imprint of the crags of Scotland?

There were many of the 'A loving friend, a father true' epitaphs here. The stones were newer and straighter. Before one a cluster of dahlias and white asters hung their heads over a glass fruit jar which had been wedged in a crevice of the scorched turf. They must have been placed there some days before, as there was but a remnant of brownish water at the bottom of the jar.

I strolled down to the far corner, where a twisted apple tree leaned over the fence, and the grass grew long in its shade. Here I sat, vainly trying to apply Gray's Elegy to this Canadian country churchyard. I read the messages on the stones about me, telling of the grief of devoted friends and the virtues of the dead. What harmony there seemed in these homely lives.

'Such harmony is in immortal souls;
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close us in, we cannot hear it.'

Two women came walking among the scattered

graves. They walked purposefully, as they would have walked to their shopping on the village street. They religiously avoided stepping in places where the turf heaved straight and narrow. They had to separate to do this, and they came towards me, weaving a strange dance, like dire Sophoclean heralds. They wore straw hats with bits of coloured ribbon, and each of them carried a bunch of flowers. One bore a small pail of water, and the other two empty jars. They wore dark cotton dresses, with gussets at the sides to make them fit neatly. One of them was heavy of bust and hip, and younger than the other, who was thin, and had shoulders so rounded that there appeared a hump between them. The thin one was talking as they drew near, but on seeing me she stopped. They wove their way to a stone on the top of which kneeled a small angel with folded wings and upturned face. Underneath were the words:

'A loving daughter, a sister true,
God called you home, but we miss you.'

Here lay 'Edith, beloved daughter of James and Janet Mackie,' dead in her twenty-eighth year.

The two women put their burdens on the ground, and the younger one wiped the beads of perspiration from her face, which was fat and very flushed. Then she began to sort over the flowers, late roses, zinnias and asters in a glory of colour, while the older woman filled the jars with water. Presently the fat one wearied of her kneeling position, and sat heavily back, schoolgirl fashion, with her feet forming distorted triangles in front of her.

'Poor Edie,' she said, 'I never thought when I went away I'd come back to be putting flowers on her grave.'

The old woman looked up from her work and began to talk rapidly, in a sharp, querulous voice, though I could not hear what she said. The ribbon on her bonnet-like hat bobbed to and fro. The bees droned in the golden-rod behind me. The sun-drenched air shimmered with heat, and for a while I dozed. Presently the voice aroused me. The old woman was talking loudly and angrily. Through half-closed lids I watched her sitting back on her heels and making prodding motions with something her hand held. Her thin, small figure squirmed with a suppressed emotion out of all keeping with the lazy heat of the day. But her face was bloodless, and she seemed unconscious of the sun. To my blurred senses at first she wavered about like an up-ended wire worm. Then the angry words began to piece themselves together in my mind and I saw that the thing in her hand was a small potato-knife with which she had been digging out weeds, but which she now stabbed sharply into the ground at certain points in her story.

'And her own mother backed her up in it. More shame to her. But that's the kind of common people they are. Lied and said it was her own child, and her too old to have a child for years past.'

The younger woman's mouth moved in commiserating sounds which I could not distinguish.

'That's all right for you,' blazed the old one again,

'You that's been well married and with a family of your own. Folks here said Edie'd been right to marry him anyway, but that's not the kind of people the Mackies are, nor the Frasers on my side either. They tried to brazen it out all right, and had the child christened in the Methodist church just as if it was regular born. That woman, right in the house of God, even if it was a Methodist one, to say it was her baby.'

'Of course everybody knew. If you'd been living here then you'd a known too. He got ashamed to come to see Edie any more.'

'He just stopped coming.'

'And people took care to let drop where Edie could hear it, that he'd been hanging round up at the Gore's place. Soon after they come here. They'd moved from some place up north, to the old Brent farm. They got it for almost nothing after John Brent was found dead there the winter before, all alone, and it had been let go to pieces. They're a dirty lot, and likely had to leave from where they came. They'd a raft of young-uns, and she's a fat, lazy woman.'

The knife dug deep into the ground here, and her hand rested on it for a moment. Then she went on.

'Anyway that Fall they give it out that this Lila was sick. She was a pindling-looking thing with eyes like burnt holes in a blanket, and a way of hanging her head like a sick cat. Shiftless and bad, the whole boiling of them. They said she'd gone to visit an aunt some place where they come from.'

'Well it snowed hard that winter, and nobody paid any notice to what the Gores did. First thing anybody noticed was Fred Cameron went away to the city, and—well, he never come back. And Edie never heard hide nor hair of him since. And that—a long slashing cut in the turf with the potato-knife, 'is what killed my Edie, say what you like. They was going together even when you went away, and that was when she'd just come out of high school. Seventeen, she'd be.'

The younger woman laid her hand on the burnt turf, in a lovely and simple gesture.

'Well, one thing, our Mr. Blackie wouldn't christen the baby. Nobody knew what he said, but they took it to the Methodist minister. He was a young whiffet, just out of school you might say, and he didn't know the harm he done himself among decent people, but we've never thought the same of him since.'

'Of course some people said one thing, and some said another, and there were them that took the Gore girl's side and said the child might be her little sister. They sent it to school along with the others. Till she was seven, she went. And her with Fred's sandy hair and blue eyes, and all the Gores black as Indians.'

'But the truth came out this summer, I can tell you. Agnes,—they called the brat Agnes,—up and took measles and died.'

'Then you'd a known whose she was. The way that Lila took on didn't make no mistake as to who was its right mother. She went round with her eyes all puffed up and red, and her in black, dressed any

crazy way and no shame to her. And she comes to the cemetery every day or so, and sits there. She's over there now.'

The old woman made a jabbing point over her shoulder with the potato-knife, pushed her glasses up to wipe her small, squirrel-like eyes, and then began putting flowers in the water jars.

My eyes followed the direction of the potato-knife indicator. In the sun-bleached distance, beside a small mound, unmarked by a stone, sat a slight figure, just a curve of black. One arm rested on her knee, its hand supporting her head, while from the other hand dropped a cluster of flowers. From the distance they seemed to be golden-rod and Michaelmas daisy, or as the country people call it, the purple wild aster.

BIOGRAPHY

Years ago she wanted love—
Wanted warm muscles
And the rhythm of another's breathing.
But men frowned
When she looked upon them wantonly.
So she wandered alone
Among the Spring winds
With only her own body.
She was sullen a long while
And tried to drown herself . . .
She died an old vixen.

ALAN B. CREIGHTON

AT REST

This fresh grave
Is of a man who never owed money.
He did not love
As it might have cost too much.
He died worrying about his funeral expenses.
How quiet
Is that little mound of earth!

ALAN B. CREIGHTON

SEPTEMBER ON THE NEW ROAD

There will live forever in my mind
This brown, earth road, stone-ramparted above
The red-bronze marsh's fern and sedge and reed,
Where bittern, duck and heron feed and fly.
These colored stones were dug out of the hill
Whose open wounds quick-growing Nature healed
With purple asters, goldenrod and rose-red
Weeds that climb to meet the juniper
And rough moor-grass that overhang the top.

Beside the low stone parapet the alders
Crowd, with here and there wild apple, willow,
Cherry, each tree and bush in flower again
With starry clematis for autumn lovers.
Woodchuck and rabbit, coral snake and turquoise
Halt surprised and stare, then slip to cover;
Firebird, warbler, finch wing by in golden
Flight, a hermit thrush still sings. Exulting
I march up the road that is my heaven.

FRANCES R. ANGUS,

August, 1934



DIEU, EST-IL ANGLAIS?

CIVITAS DEI, by Lionel Curtis (Macmillans in Canada; pp. xxiii; 297; \$3.65).

THIS book forms a sad and disappointing culmination to a useful and really noble career. Mr. Curtis used to quote at his own expense the description of himself by an indignant Anglo-Indian Tory as 'a globe-trotting doctrinaire with a mania for constitution-mongering'. But whether one agrees with his ideas or not there is no denying the fact that his remarkable life devoted to argument and persuasion has had a notable effect upon the politics of South Africa, India, Ireland, and the British Commonwealth as a whole. His eloquent and tireless preaching of his own particular brand of British imperialism has affected the way our whole generation thinks upon these topics, and its effects were not least upon the minds of his political opponents in the Dominions and India. The genuine moral fervour of the man set him apart as one of the finer spirits in the politics of our time. Among imperialists he stood by himself, separated on the one side from the hard-boiled propagandists of the grosser type of commercial imperialism, the Chamberlains and the Amerys, and on the other side from the suave and over-polished casuists who professed to expound his own gospel of the Commonwealth, the Philip Kerrs and the Zimmermans. It was not for nothing that he was called 'the Prophet' by his intimates and admirers.

But here after years of practical labours in the world is the prophet's final reasoned exposition of the faith that has inspired him. Alas, one must say of it that, like many attempts to combine religion and politics, its religion does not seem very profound nor its politics very realistic. There is here no fresh or vital illumination upon the problems of men in society. The book is 'an attempt to discover a guiding principle in politics'. It is in fact an exposition, which takes the form of a survey of world history, of Mr. Curtis' own guiding principle, 'the principle of the commonwealth', the theory of an infinite obligation owed by each to all as the bond which unites human society. This is a noble conception and Mr. Curtis finds its highest expression in the teaching of Jesus, but his study of how it has been realized in actual historical societies is naïve and superficial.

What he gives us is a bird's eye view of the development of self-governing institutions, with a great deal of padding about the Graeco-Persian wars, the internal struggles of the Jews, the decline of the Roman Empire, and other such topics that seem to have caught his fancy for no very discernible reason. The whole book represents much too obviously the reflections of a protestant liberal nineteenth-century Englishman. We read over again the story

of Athenian democracy and of the expansion of Rome à la Oxford Greats school. We learn that Christianity as organized in the Middle Ages was the direct antithesis of the polity which Jesus had conceived as essential to the growth of virtue in men. And then we come to the point where the principle of the commonwealth was revived by God's Englishmen in the medieval parliament, and we close with the moral that the world now faces the further task of extending the principle from a national to a universal scale. 'To have brought into being a commonwealth on a national scale is the greatest achievement in history.' 'The system of parliament brought an ever-increasing number of Englishmen into contact with facts and obliged them to pass judgment on the facts. It was this, I suggest, which developed in England a somewhat higher sense of realities and also a somewhat deeper instinct for truth than is commonly found elsewhere.' 'In the threadbare and commonplace details [of English constitutional history] I see the first beginnings in the Christian era of the process whereby that creative and potent idea, the Kingdom of God, as viewed and expounded by Jesus of Nazareth, is destined to be realized.'

Somehow or other the reader knew that this was coming from the moment he noticed the design of the symbolical crown of the British Commonwealth upon the front cover of the book. Mr. Curtis clearly belongs to the company of the myth-makers, not of the historians. He takes self-government, whether in Athens or in England, at its face value and never pauses to enquire how far actual institutions may have been a cloak for the domination of special classes in the community and the exploitation of others. He sees history as the working out of some selected idea and is blissfully unaware of all investigators who find the clue to any given political institutions in the material economic basis of the civilization of the time. Above all, in spite of his reading and his travels, he remains incurably the insular middle-class Englishman. Such men are more effective when discussing the concrete particular problems of government, and most readers will find the discussion of 'The Problem of the [British] Commonwealth' of 1915 more enlightening than this discussion of the commonwealth of God.

FRANK H. UNDERHILL.



PRELUDE TO FAILURE

THE STATE AND ECONOMIC LIFE, League of Nation's Sixth International Studies Conference (Institute of Intellectual Co-operation; pp. xviii, 422; 15/-).

THIS book has been published under the auspices of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. It is in large part a symposium of an international study conference convened in 1933 under the chairmanship of Sir Arthur Salter to inquire into the manifestations and implications of state intervention in the realm of national and international economic activity. A useful supplement contains summaries of the preliminary memoranda which provided the basis of the discussions. The date of the conference is not without significance. It met in London on the eve of the ill-fated World Economic Conference. When the reader has discovered in its pages the sharp divergence of views expressed by the various national delegations on such subjects as the Open Door, The Most Favoured Nation Clause, and the Ottawa Agreements, he will understand more clearly the causes which led to the foundering of the World Conference.

The student of recent economic and social trends will find much valuable material in this volume. Of particular interest to Canadians is the section devoted to Imperial Preferences. It is a salutary corrective to the popular presentation of the Ottawa Agreements to examine these transactions through the eyes of representatives of countries which lay outside the charmed circle of the Commonwealth. Professor Coatman seems to have accepted with some reluctance the rôle of apologist for the Ottawa Agreements. The Ottawa delegation from Great Britain, he points out, was composed of members of all three political parties; they all wanted preferences and agreements by lowering of tariffs, in no case by increasing them. 'That led to bitter discussions, and we were only able to achieve a part of our ideal.' Just how much of the original virtue of the British delegation was left in Ottawa does not appear from Professor Coatman's remarks, but he consoled himself with the assertion that the lowering of tariffs between the Empire countries would result in an absolute increase in the quantum of international trade. This statement was received with polite expressions of misgiving by other members of the conference. Professor von Beckerath of Germany remarked that the interesting argument had been put forward that in the long run the whole world economic order must profit by a procedure by which the economic situation and productivity within the realm of the British Empire gets better. That, he said, was a small consolation for certain countries which were only interested in making sure of their share. Professor Coatman had also been rash enough to suggest that one of the promising features of the Ottawa Agreements was that any industry which had proved to be uneconomic would be abandoned. To which Dr. Pedersen of Denmark replied: 'I do not know what that word "uneconomic" means, but presumably it means a production which could not be kept up on a competitive basis . . . Of course, if the New Zealand and Australian

butter production cannot be kept up to the level it has reached without having a preference, as compared with Danish or other European butter, of fifteen shillings per cwt., it cannot be considered economic. But there is absolutely no provision in the Ottawa Agreements which will tend to rectify that state of affairs.' These quotations will suffice to indicate the piquancy of a situation in which the maxims of Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill were courteously expounded by continental economists for the edification of members of the British Delegation.

The discussions of the committee on state intervention in private economic enterprises are especially opportune in view of the continued trend towards interventionism in Europe and America. The scope of the deliberations of this committee will be indicated by the following topics which were considered on successive days—"The Philosophical Aspects of State Intervention in Private Economic Enterprise"; 'The Practical Aspects of State Intervention at the Present Time'; 'Certain Forms of State Intervention in Actual Practice'; 'The Problem of Labour Organization and Representation'; 'Planning'; 'Liberalism versus Authoritarianism'; 'International Implications of Various Systems and Forms of State Intervention'. To this portion of the programme Professor H. A. Innis, representing the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, made a valuable contribution on the international repercussions of intervention with particular reference to Canada. All in all, the character of this conference, the high quality of its personnel, and the breadth of its discussions have combined to make this book a very timely and significant addition to the growing body of literature on the economics of social security.

NORMAN McL. ROGERS

FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS, Proceedings of the First Unofficial Conference at Toronto, September 11-21, 1933, edited by Arnold J. Toynbee, with a foreword by the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert L. Borden, G.C.M.G. (Oxford Press; pp. xi, 235; 10/6).

IT is extremely difficult for one who was a member of the First British Commonwealth Relations Conference to pass judgment upon this volume of 'Proceedings' which attempts to describe its work. The reputation of the editor, Mr. Toynbee, and of the very distinguished Editorial Committee which assisted him, is a guarantee that the best possible use has been made of the available and 'permissible' materials. But the confidential nature of the Conference itself and of the reports compiled in preparation for it has necessarily made of the 'Proceedings' a much less interesting, vital, and important event than the Conference itself.

The volume is divided into three parts: the first is an admirable introduction by the editor; the second is a survey of pre-existing points of view, and here, too, the editor has used his materials in a skilful and interesting manner; the concluding section, which describes the work of the Conference,

includes the agenda, the formal addresses, the reports of the rapporteurs of the round tables, and other routine matters. This is the least interesting of the three sections, because, as it was prepared by the Conference on the understanding that it would be made available to 'the public', it contains very little 'local colour'.

The value of the Conference lay in the fact that it faced up to the realities of the international situation; that it was composed of men representing a great variety of, and often conflicting, views; and that it allowed, and was successful in obtaining, complete freedom and frankness in the discussion of these views. As Sir Robert Borden writes in his foreword, 'Necessarily and indeed happily there were at Toronto discordant voices within various delegations. Thus was the selection of delegates fully justified in the representation of diverse elements.' Of the realities of the international situation mentioned above, Mr. Toynbee writes as follows: 'Under the shadow of the international situation, the Conference assembled in no spirit of unctuous self-placency but rather in a spirit of sober foreboding . . . In their heart of hearts they [the delegates] were aware all the time that a world order based on these spiritual foundations [of peaceful co-operation] might prove, after all, to be an aim beyond the moral capacity of a human race which was still in its infancy, and which had entered upon the enterprise called Civilization a mere 6,000 years since. In the alternative event of a catastrophe in which the great society of the modern world might be first done to death and then posthumously unified by an uncontrolled outbreak of physical violence, it was evident that the several members of the British Commonwealth of Nations might find themselves at the mercy of their respective regional situations—the United Kingdom as a small island fast moored to the great continent of Europe; Canada and South Africa as part and parcel respectively of North America and the Dark Continent; Australia and New Zealand as ships of state adrift alone in "a wide, wide sea" which had been ironically named "the Pacific"; India as the uneasy neighbour of the Soviet Union and the Islamic World. If a breakdown of the attempt to establish a humane and reasonable world-order ever did bring these diverse regional factors into active play, who could tell how far the countries now associated in the British Commonwealth might drift apart on their way to encounter their diverse fates, whatever these fates might respectively prove to be? To a well-attuned ear, the proceedings at the British Commonwealth Relations Conference which met at Toronto in September, 1933, had a tragic as well as an assuring note.'

It is to be hoped that the editors and letter writers, who wrote at such length last autumn without any adequate knowledge on which to base their statements, will one and all buy this volume and, after they have digested it, will proceed to give us their views of the 'Commonwealth Relations Conference' and its results at as great length as they did when their knowledge was so largely emotional.

NORMAN MACKENZIE

GROWTH OF THE WEST

PRAIRIE SETTLEMENT, by W. A. Mackintosh (Macmillans in Canada; pp. xv, 242; \$4.00).

THIS volume is the first of a series of nine which, when completed, will summarize the results of five years of intensive research on the part of the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee. The initial volume, from the pen of the Director, Dr. W. A. Mackintosh, deals specifically with the underlying geographical factors conditioning the extent and direction of past and future settlement in the Canadian West and the nature of economic and social activities on the pioneer fringes.

Chapter one describes the general topography, natural vegetation, soils and climate of the three prairie provinces, and presents for the first time an authoritative, generalized soil map of the region. The period of exploration is briefly but competently treated in chapter two. The third chapter contains an illuminating analysis of the relation between transportation and settlement, and is illustrated by a series of ten maps tracing the expansion of railway facilities, and areas served thereby from 1886 to 1931; the fourth not only depicts the spread of settlement but relates the different types of land utilization and farm practice obtaining in the area to geographical and other limiting factors. Of special interest is a series of maps showing rural population density by five-year intervals from the beginning of the century, with an explanatory discussion of the various determining causes. The next four chapters are devoted to regional studies of the geography of settlement in the Red River Valley and Park Belt, the Prairie Plains, the Forest Areas and the Peace River Country. An instructive analysis of the relation between climatic variability and crop yields appears in chapter nine which makes available many meteorological and other data in new and useful form. The final section comprises a carefully reasoned examination of available evidence on the probable limits of settlement. An appendix gives detailed descriptions and analyses of soils in various parts of the prairie provinces.

The volume contains 160 maps, photographs and other illustrations, is well written and carefully documented throughout. It is the first comprehensive study of its kind dealing with Western Canada, and assembles within two covers not only authoritative material from a wide range of sources, but contributes many new data and much original analysis which should command the attention of economists, business men, students of public affairs, and indeed all who are in any way concerned with the future of the Canadian West.

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THE LUTE AND THE PIANO

SONNETS POUR HELENE, by Pierre de Ronsard, with English renderings by Humbert Wolfe (Macmillans in Canada; pp. xxviii, 291; \$3.00).

ON the tenth of June, in the recently restored priory of Saint-Côme, near Tours, a solemn and impressive ceremony restored to the earth the bones of one of France's greatest poets discovered a little more than a year ago in a group of crumbling, degraded ruins, and identified only after prolonged and minute study of texts, portraits, and the bones themselves.

The fame of Pierre de Ronsard shared the vicissitudes of his bones. In his own time his supremacy was acknowledged not only in France, but through the whole of Europe: it was thought no extravagance to say that in his birth France gained more than she lost in the battle of Pavia on the same day. Yet for more than two hundred years after the edition of 1630, no complete edition of Ronsard's poems appeared: the poetic movement of which he was the most brilliant representative lapsed entirely from favour, in the complete victory of the ideals that we associate with the name of Malherbe, already thirty years old at the time of Ronsard's death in 1585. The nineteenth century saw a return to favour, and a new edition, in 1857; at the present time, both at home and abroad, Ronsard's fame stands higher than it has at any time since the sixteenth century. It is a selective fame. His laborious epic, and grandiose Pindaric Odes find few defenders; but the sonnets

and shorter lyrics, contemporaries and no mean rivals of Shakespeare's sonnets, are recognized as unmatched in the whole of French literature.

Mr. Humbert Wolfe has a fine appreciation of the qualities and importance of Ronsard's work, the strength, nobility, and variety, as well as the sweetness of his song. Mr. Wolfe is also a craftsman of proved competence in verse, and has endeavoured, as far as possible, to retain a sixteenth-century cast of language, and to avoid poeticisms of his own invention. As the chief fault urged against his original work has always been a weakness of imagination, rather than any lack of technical skill, it might have been expected that in such work as this his talents would have fullest play. And indeed, many single lines are beautifully turned, and some complete poems, as:

'When lately from the kingdom of your eyes
I took my leave—'

*'Prenant congé de vous, dont les yeux m'ont
domté—'*

'My shame doth shame me, till my verse is treason
That plays the lover when my winter's here.'
*'J'ai honte de ma honte, il est temps de me taire,
Sans faire l'amoureux en un chef si grison.'*

But to turn 141 sonnets into sonnets in another language is too much for mortal wit. Despite the utmost care, Ronsard speaks time and again obviously through the mouth of Humbert Wolfe, *quantum mutatus ab illo*. The exigencies of rhyme and metre inevitably demand omissions and padding; it is sufficient triumph for Mr. Wolfe that he is not oftener betrayed into these treasons. The disarming modesty of his introduction precludes harsh criticism; but one comes away from the book with the feeling that these are airs for the lute, transcribed and adapted for piano. Still, they open up new realms of music to those who do not possess a lute, and introduce English readers to some of the best lyrics that France has ever produced.

The book is beautifully printed, and contains the French originals and the English translations on opposite pages.

L. A. MacKAY

MORE SCOTT LETTERS

THE LETTERS OF SIR WALTER SCOTT, 1819-1821, edited by H. J. C. Grierson (Macmillans in Canada; pp. xvi, 512; \$6.25).

THIS volume carries forward the record of Scott's crowded life to the middle of 1821 and offers as great a variety of interesting matter as any of its predecessors.

A considerable number of letters in the early part of the volume harp on the wicked designs of the radical scoundrels in Glasgow and the North of England. With some of his neighbours Scott eagerly offered to raise a corps of shepherds and peasants and was prepared to march South with them to Carlisle or Newcastle. Indeed, he was frankly disappointed at not having a brush with the would-be reformers. 'If I had anything to say in the matter,

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they should remember the day for half a century to come.' He almost speaks as if the good old raiding days of the ballads had come again. 'All our old acquaintances are singing

"March in good order

All the blue bonnets are over the border."

A few pages later we get the other (and pleasanter) side of Scott's feeling for the duties and responsibilities of rank and wealth. 'Do not,' he writes to Laidlaw, remembering the hardships of some of his poorer neighbours, 'let the poor bodies want for a £5 or even a £10, more or less.' But, then, these were steady sensible fellows who were willing to 'fight knee-deep against the Radicals.'

Scott's health, now happily restored 'at no greater cost of creature-comforts than resigning John Barleycorn', allowed him to go up to London in the Spring of 1820 to receive his baronetcy. 'I cannot feel,' he writes to Morritt after the business is over, 'that the dignity inflicted on me has made the least difference in my hopes, feelings, or thoughts. The King said some very handsome things about it. Servants bow two inches lower, a door opens three inches wider; and there it rests, except that in Scotland my degree places me among the old ladies at the head of the table and obliges me to carve, at which office I am very awkward and regret the real days of chivalry when all this labour devolved upon the Esquires.'

For the most part he is in Edinburgh or at Abbotsford attending to his thronging concerns: en-

tertaining his friends, doing his work in court, buying a few more acres to round out his estate, pulling wires to get John Wilson a professorship (for which Wilson was most completely unqualified), sending money and counsel to his son Walter, who was in Ireland with the 18th. Hussars. He writes affectionately of his mother, who died at the age of 87 ('she remembered and had often spoken with a person who perfectly recollected the battle of Dunbar and Oliver Cromwell's subsequent entry into Edinburgh'); he welcomes Lockhart as a son-in-law and becomes a proud grandfather; he laments the death of John Ballantyne in 1821, discounting bills to the last. And, of course, though the letters have very little to say about it, Scott is all this time a busy novelist. The period covered by this volume saw the publication of *Ivanhoe*, *The Monastery*, *The Abbott* and *Kenilworth*.

R. K. GORDON

POTPOURRI

SHORT STORIES, SCRAPS AND SHAVINGS, by Bernard Shaw, with wood engravings by John Farleigh (Macmillans in Canada; pp. vii, 305; \$2.50).

IN this volume are reassembled some of the short stories and essays which Bernard Shaw wrote between 1883 and 1932. It is another, minor Shavian cavalcade. All the pieces, with the exception of *The Adventures of the Black Girl in her Search for God*, were first assembled in the Limited Collected Edition, and they have not changed during the intervening period. They enjoy the advantage of Shaw's established reputation, and possess that interest which documents acquire when their author has achieved legendary proportions. They are not to be confused with his distinguished contributions, but they should be read.

The inclusion of *The Black Girl* lends interest to the volume largely because of the gap of sixteen years which elapsed between the writing of the most recent of the other stories and the composition of this treatise on religion. It prompts one to speculate upon what happened to Shaw's mind between 1916 and 1932. Judging from the content of *The Black Girl*, the answer is nothing, but fortunately he wrote some plays also in the interim.

The book emphasizes the fact that, despite its excellent quality of dry humour, *The Black Girl* is a death blow at an enemy which Shaw killed at least to his own satisfaction long ago, in the days when he was as troubled about widowers' houses and the malpractices of the medical profession as he was about the stupidity of religious dogmas.

The association between Bernard Shaw and John Farleigh is a happy one, for the chastity of the latter's wood engravings is admirably suited to the intellectualism of Shaw's writing. If for no other reason than that it continues this fusion of artist and author, which first became notable in *The Black Girl*, the latest issue of Shavian scraps is worthy.

D'ARCY MARSH.

WALT ON WHITMAN

AN INTRODUCTION TO WALT WHITMAN, by Henry S. Saunders (Privately printed in Toronto; pp. 25; \$1.50).

PART of the real charm of this little book comes from the fact that Whitman is allowed to introduce himself. There is no attempt to estimate Walt's view of himself or his function; indeed, this would have been beyond the scope of so slight a work. Mr. Saunders' biographical sketch confines itself to externals, with only a detached reference to the New Orleans love affair and mystical experience. One suspects that Walt Whitman had reached the point of development where a single discovery might effect an almost complete 'sublimation' of emotion. We do know that his self-awareness was unique—in range no less than in depth:

'Of physiology from top to toe I sing.'

If he failed at all it was not in vision but in craftsmanship. His attempt to 'articulate and faithfully express in literary or poetic form' ended in a near-apology: 'No one will get at my verses who insists upon viewing them as a literary performance, or attempt at such performance, or as aiming mainly toward art or aestheticism.' Whitman was far too acute seriously to believe that an artist ever deliberately aims at Art or Aestheticism. His protest against poems that 'merely satisfy the intellect, or supply something polished and interesting' hits no mark because it was aimed at none. The poet is simply protecting himself from an altogether just form of criticism, trying to avoid the natural consequences of that leisureliness which Mr. Saunders (in another connection) wisely stresses.

This Introduction appears in an edition of 150 copies 'all bound by hand and signed by the author'. It contains reproductions of two rare Whitman portraits.

MARCUS ADENEY



SHORT NOTICES

THE WORKER AND WAGE INCENTIVES, by W. F. Watson (Day to Day Pamphlets No. 20; The Hogarth Press; pp. 45; 1/6).

RACE AND ECONOMICS IN SOUTH AFRICA, by W. G. Ballinger (Day to Day Pamphlets No. 21; The Hogarth Press; pp. 67; 1/6).

These two volumes continue the excellently printed Day to Day series published by Leonard and Virginia Woolf, though it cannot be said that the quality of their contents is equal to the quality of the printer's art.

Workers and Wage Incentives is a rather dull but fairly adequate survey of the different types of incentives used by employers to speed up production. Most of the proposals have failed in England under the determined opposition of the employees to schemes which would make of workers mere machines. The bonuses paid in most of the schemes for more efficient work become proportionately less the more efficient the workman is. Mr. Watson frankly concludes that straight piece work with a flat rate bonus of one hundred per cent. is the most satisfactory incentive yet found under capitalism.

Mr. W. G. Ballinger was invited by the native trade unions of South Africa to become their technical adviser. He paints, in *Race and Economics in South Africa*, an accurate enough picture but his solutions degenerate into vague rhetoric. He realistically admits that all affairs in South Africa are ultimately native affairs. The white South African Labour Party is frankly based on keeping the blacks depressed; legislation maintains the inferiority of the natives—the Colour Bar Act and pass laws restricting their mobility after dark and virtually tying them to one part of the country. Unfortunately the author omits any discussion of the important place filled by the East Indian in South African problems, nor has he anything very definite to say about the source of race conflict, which is to be found in the nature of capitalism itself.

These two pamphlets, by members or sympathizers of the British Labour Party, reflect the bankruptcy of its leadership, as for example the authors' inability to look at facts realistically all the time and their almost naively unrealistic solutions to the problems of race and labour; their failure to realize that the terrible conditions at which they both shudder are an inevitable concomitant of the existing social order. Finally, both writers reflect that great weakness shared by nearly all English writers—excessive politeness.

N. P.

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THE EVENING STANDARD BOOK OF BEST SHORT STORIES, second series (Archer; pp. 288; 3/6).

All these stories are here reprinted from the London *Evening Standard*. They are by divers authors, all well-known, Michael Arlen, Stella Benson, Hans Fallada, Liam O'Flaherty and others. It means that a reviewer must be cautious with his general comments. To call them all 'pot-boilers' would be unfair. But second-rate they all are. The reasons are not far to seek. In the first place, they had to appeal to a very wide circle of readers, and secondly, they had to be kept within strict limits of length. For both these reasons the author is apt to depend upon surprise or a mere trick for his effect. Thus 'The Luck of Captain Fortune', by Michael Arlen, is simply a carefully inflated anecdote. 'Poor Man's Inn', by Richard Hughes, relies upon a startling and improbable plot.

John Galsworthy, in his foreword to *Caravan*, had this to say of the short story: 'The fiction market is supposed to require of short stories a certain pattern full of "pep" and sting in the tail. The scorpion, it is said, if sufficiently irritated, will sting itself to death. So will the short story when worried by the demands of editor.' His warning was both wise and timely, but it has been ignored by most of the authors represented in this book. The impression is always one of hurry, and the quest for novelty is too apt to lead into the realm of the frankly impossible. The desire for something new is understandable. But it would be a sad paradox if the growing popularity of the short story, by stimulating that desire, should bring discredit upon this particular literary form. Yet one need not be an alarmist to foresee that possibility. And, as a criticism, it applies to more stories than the ones in this book.

For, of their kind, they are good enough, and Mr. Cunningham Graham's 'Beattock for Moffat' has even a

sort of mournful majesty about it. The two best in the book: H. A. Manhood's 'Paradise Lost' and Miss Stella Benson's 'Submarine'. The two worst: Theodore Pratt's 'Mad Palace' and 'The Sheik, the Sun, and the Sack' by the Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah.

W.A.B.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The listing of a book in this column does not preclude a more extended notice in this or subsequent issues.

CANADIAN

AN INTRODUCTION TO WALT WHITMAN, by Henry S. Saunders (privately printed in Toronto; pp. 25; \$1.50).

GENERAL

ECONOMIC READJUSTMENT IN 1933, by A. H. Abbati (P. S. King; pp. xiii, 102; 6/-).

\$20,000,000 EVERY DAY, by Otto Cullman (Otto Cullman; pp. 67; \$1.00).

WHAT IS SOUND MONEY? by J. H. R. Cromwell (Economic Forum; pp. 64; 25 cents).

MEMOIRS AND LETTERS OF OSCAR W. FIRKINS (University of Minnesota Press; pp. 312; \$2.50).

EGYPT SINCE CROMER, Volume Two, by Lord Lloyd (Macmillans in Canada; pp. viii, 418; \$7.00).

THE WORKER AND WAGE INCENTIVES, by W. F. Watson (Hogarth Press; pp. 46; 1/6).

RACE AND ECONOMICS IN SOUTH AFRICA, by W. G. Ballinger (Hogarth Press; pp. 67; 1/6).

THE JEWS IN THE MODERN WORLD, by Arthur Ruppin with an introduction by L. B. Namier (Macmillans in Canada; pp. xxxi, 423; \$5.00).

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT, by Dr. Hans Kohn (John Day; pp. vii, 140; \$2.00).

RISE AND FULFILMENT OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA, by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt (Macmillans in Canada; pp. xi, 690; \$3.65).

THE BALLIOLS, by Alec Waugh (Macmillans in Canada; pp. 547; \$2.50).

The Reader's FORUM

MONEY AND THE DEPRESSION

The Editor, THE CANADIAN FORUM.
Sir:

The state of confusion in which the lay public finds itself with regard to economic problems generally, and to monetary problems in particular, makes it imperative for the professional economist to say nothing that will increase this confusion—if he can do nothing to clarify it. For this reason, I am offering the following commentary on the June article by H. Carl Goldenberg in order to clear up and correct many statements which require such clarification, so that the general public may not accept them as being uttered *ex cathedra*, bearing the stamp of authority of economics.

First, a general criticism: a careful reading of the article will in no way indicate what is the connection between money and the depression, except that there is *some* connection, and that *some* relief may be obtained by monetary manipulation—which is not very helpful.

To criticize in detail, it is a great disservice to the general public to state that money is a medium of exchange and to stop there. This is only one-fourth of the truth, and the least important fourth thereof. Money performs four functions: (1) as a medium of exchange, (2) as a measure of value (e.g., capitalization, etc.), (3) as a store of value, (e.g., savings), (4) as a standard of deferred payments (e.g., bonds, notes, mortgages). Each function of money creates distinct problems of its own, the respective solutions of which are too often incompatible. These separate problems must be kept distinct, else the analysis will be vitiated. Mr. Goldenberg mentioned only the first function of money but discussed the problems arising out of the fourth function by the existence of debts in a credit economy. Moreover, in a 'credit' economy, as the term credit implies, as against a cash economy, the rôle of money as a medium of exchange is relatively unimportant. The problems in detail cannot be discussed here, but reference may be made to Robertson's *Money*.

We know that the productivity of society is increasing as a result of inventions. This fact leads Mr. Goldenberg to say: 'With the vast increase in production in recent years, man requires more purchasing power in order

to make possible the exchange of the increased quantity of goods and services required.' This is an enormous fallacy as the Quantity Theory of Money indicates. Any quantity of money will bring about the exchange of any quantity of goods and services—and if you increase the quantity of goods, it does not follow that you require *pari passu* an increase in the quantity of money. This is the most persistent fallacy in popular discussions on the subject: e.g., Major Douglas, Foster and Catchings, et al. As Robertson has so well put it: 'The notion common . . . to 90 per cent. of the writings of monetary cranks is that every batch of goods is entitled to be born with a monetary label of equivalent value around its neck, and to carry it round its neck until it dies.'

Discussing debts, Mr. Goldenberg states: 'It is essential, unless long-term debts are to be a pure gamble, that the purchasing power of money be relatively stable throughout the period of the contract.' One might very well ask what a pure gamble is but we shall not stop at that. The above represents Irving Fisher's idea. The chief technical difficulty is to give precise meaning to the term 'Purchasing Power of Money'. The term represents a statistical average which is in general quite vague. Thus, taking the figures of Goldenberg, a contract in manufacturing would require a rise of 23 per cent. in prices to readjust the balance, in agriculture, it would be 62 per cent. Anything in between would not be fair to one side. Yet how can we have an increase of 23 per cent. and 62 per cent. at the same time? Keynes has recently pointed out what difficulties attach to the term, i.e., there is no general index, only particular indices, none of which move at the same rate together.

But even more serious than the above technical difficulties are the economic ones. Davidson and Lindahl in Sweden, Mises in Austria, and Hayek, the Austrian economist at the London School of Economics, have shown that since there are inventions, the economy will adjust itself best when the prices vary with the variations in output, keeping the quantity of money constant. This would necessitate the abolition of the private banking system and no monetary tinkering by a Central Bank. A stable price-level, given inventions, would mean that the con-

sumers would not participate in the march of progress—and furthermore, if feasible, could be feasible for a short period only, leading inevitably into chaos, by reason of internal dislocations.

Furthermore, if a stable price level were the *quaesitum*, it would be much easier to obtain it either by government decree or by the wholesale organization of monopolies than by currency manipulation, which might make some average constant, but would not prevent individual prices from fluctuating widely.

The quotation from Dennis merely states rather pompously that bank credit varies with business turnover—not a very novel conclusion. It does not explain why business turnover varies—which is the problem.

In the section on war debts we find: 'Their repayment involves the transfer of *wealth* [my italics] from European countries to the United States on a huge scale without a corresponding movement of goods and services. This fact of necessity dislocates the foreign exchanges and international trade.' One might add: 'and would inevitably dislocate the minds of any politicians or economists who attempted it.' It is either a *lapsus linguae*, writing 'wealth' for 'valuta' or 'foreign exchange', or else an interesting recrudescence of the crudest form of mercantilism in an academic economist.

Running along, one might pertinently ask how one could have an increase in the currency without a corresponding increase in expenditure; why 'a credit economy cannot function successfully' unless variations in prices, profits, etc., are controlled.

Again, one can question the conclusions drawn from the Australian 'lesson', when it is remembered that Australia did not avoid the depression, she only adjusted herself to it; one can ask why Canadian devaluation in 1931 did not stop the deflation until 1933, after the United States went off gold; whether we could have profited, as did Australia, when it is remembered that our debt was held in the United States, while our sales went to England, whereas Australia had both her debt and her sales in England and hence the problem was not the same? And why not mention the Swedish experience? There, given the most intelligent economists and politicians and general public in the world, their experience does not prove that you can control prices and output at the same time. In fact, stability of prices means instability of output—and we want to stabilize output and not prices.

The causes of the disparity in the rate of fall of the prices of various

goods are not to be sought in the monetary field but in the structure of production. First, agriculture is an industry, best fulfilling the definition of competition, and must compete in the world market; manufacturing in Canada enjoys tariff protection and is thus able to set up effective combines whose purpose it is to stabilize prices. In the United States, the steel industry with stable prices was one of the worst hit during the depression, the light industries with variable prices survived relatively well—from the point of view of employment and profits. It must not be forgotten that rigid costs, i.e., stable prices for labour and capital, also exert a depressing influence on output when the demand decreases. The problem then is to make manufacturing competitive and thus reduce its prices, rather than that of raising prices and perpetuating the monopolies. Monetary manipulation would aid the few against the many.

One is suspicious of an article dealing with money which quotes a Communist, a Social Fascist, and a Banker's Bulletin, as authorities on matters about which they have no special reputation; but does not quote any of the acknowledged authorities, e.g., Keynes, Hayek, Robertson (to mention only those in English); and one's suspicions are heightened by the concluding sentence which calls not alone for monetary reconstruction but also for planning à la Roosevelt. One may not think the present system perfect; but certainly one should not propose measures which make it worse—unless one's object is social chaos.

Yours etc.,

BENJAMIN CAPLAN.

Chicago.

The Editor, THE CANADIAN FORUM.

Sir:

In reply to Mr. Caplan's comments on my article on 'Money and Depression', permit me to state that an unprejudiced reading of the article would show that I did not attribute our economic ills to monetary causes. I stressed the fact that current problems are only in part the result of monetary dislocation, and that 'monetary policy alone will not prevent economic disequilibrium.'

I assumed that the average reader would understand that I was using 'money' in the widest sense of the term, and therefore could apply it to a credit economy. I also assumed that the same reader would readily see that I was not citing a Communist, a Fascist, and a Bank's Letter as authorities on money, but was merely quoting facts which they stated in well-chosen words. Even Mr. Caplan agrees with my citation from Mr. Lawrence Dennis.

ORANGE PEKOE BLEND

"SALADA" TEA

"Fresh from the Gardens"

I agree with my critic on the difficulty of attaining and maintaining a stable price level, and therefore urged —what shocks him—a policy of broad economic action. I also agree that 'any quantity of money will bring about the exchange of any quantity of goods and services.' But, since we live in a 'profit' system, and profits are dependent upon general industrial activity and confidence, it is essential that an increase in the production of goods and services should not cause a fall in prices, owing to the relative decrease in the available supply of money, such as occurred between 1873 and 1896. When my critic wonders how 'one could have an increase in the currency without a corresponding increase in expenditure', he omits consideration of the possibility of effective hoarding.

Mr. Caplan dislikes 'planning à la Roosevelt', and naively believes that 'the economy will adjust itself best when the prices vary with the variations in output, keeping the quantity of money constant.' If readjustment through prices is the 'best' solution, I fear that our system is doomed to early destruction, because the mass of the people cannot and will not endure the sufferings inherent in such readjustment. It was because the Roosevelt Administration recognized the fact that the patience of a people is subject to strain, that it interfered with the 'best' method of 'adjustment', and thereby averted a revolution in the United States. Disregarding the human factor and blind to the facts of contemporary economic life, it is easy for the laissez-faire theorist to urge us calmly to wait until things right themselves. But we are not dealing with robots nor are we approaching an era

of perfect competition under the guidance of 'enlightened self-interest'.

Yours, etc.,

Montreal.

H. CARL GOLDENBERG.

LE BON DIEU

The Editor, THE CANADIAN FORUM.

Sir:

May I be permitted to fill some of your valuable space with a few comments upon 'Le Bon Dieu' which appeared in your July issue? Having heard a good deal of controversy over this play, I should like to state that I found in it a definition of reverence which its lack of religious formality did not obscure.

One argument I heard on a number of occasions was that the presentation of The Almighty on such intimate terms with Peter, and all the details of his 'business administration', were flippant and irreligious. To these critics I repeated the speech in the play which pointed out that man had been trying to create God in his own image and that God had been kind enough to submit. There is an implied comment upon the egotism of man in this sentence which, to me, provides a timely rebuke to believers and unbelievers alike. Indeed, the humility of Dalmar put the first two men, the clergyman and the atheist, to shame and gave the work its fine edge.

It is true that in the end the Creator is discouraged and gives up his work, but his discouragement is the result of man's failure, and through man's failure His own. Such a thought should provide an incentive to human endeavour, lest the Godhead depart in very truth.

CHURCHMAN.

Kingston.

GAY PAGAN

LESS THAN A YEAR AGO a new English author, Hugh Talbot, set all England talking with his first novel, 'Gentlemen, The Regiment!' It was a spirited story of early Victorian days—regimental life in England in peace time and life in the army in the Crimean War. It told the story of a famous family—but it also told the story of all Victorian England of the period. And it told that story with such vividness, such realism, such dramatic power, and with such an amazing recreation of convincing atmosphere, that it was welcomed everywhere as a notable and authoritative contribution to serious fiction dealing with the Victorian scene. It was also hailed as a first novel of exceptional promise and quality.

"Literary history holds very few examples of a second novel coming up to the standard of the first, in such a case. There is generally a very disappointing reaction—probably due just as much to the author's effort not to disappoint his public as to the public expectation being unduly keyed up. In the case of Mr. Talbot, however, it is a pleasure to record no such descent.

"What Mr. Talbot has done is to give us another novel, set in a different period, and dealing with an entirely different type of people, but just as fully characterized by atmosphere, by power, by dramatic form, by fine character-portrayal and by intense interest as the first.

* * *

THE NEW STORY is called 'Gay Pagan', and it is a tale of Cornwall in 'the good old days', when smuggling was in full vogue, when revivalists

were on the rampage, when the fisherfolk indulged in orgies over shipwrecks, and when the landed gentry turned a blind eye to the illicit trade in brandies and laces and perfumes and the like. Even if you do not know Cornwall, you will find yourself unable to lay this book down until you have finished it, so tensely does the drama grip you, and so alive does Mr. Talbot make his landscape, his seascape and his Cornwall folk.



Caricature of Mr. Hugh Talbot
by Mr. Strong . . .

"GAY PAGAN" is really a tale of the conflict of old ideas with new, of a struggle for the love of a maid between a man of the people—a passion-torn revivalist in whose blood madness runs—and a youth who is resolute to save Feo from her own infatuation and to win her for himself. And this drama is played out against a background of Cornish cliffs, Cornish sea, Cornish fields and an atmosphere of mist, frenzied revivalist assemblies and sinister rum-runnings, with murder in the air, with a girl's fate storm-tossed, and with desperation on the part of the smugglers fighting relentless pursuit on the part of almost fanatical preventive leaders.

"Stark simplicity is here—and the art of the writer who never sacrifices sound literary workmanship to a seeking after effect. This is a splendid novel, and we can do with a lot more of the same type, to dispossess the avalanche of second and third-rate melodrama that is being poured out so assiduously by the 'sex-and-film' school."

Morgan Powell in the Montreal Star.

* * *

"GAY PAGAN", by Hugh Talbot.
(J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., Toronto.
Price, \$2.00.)

"GAY PAGAN" was chosen as the "Book of the Month" by the *Evening Standard*.

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